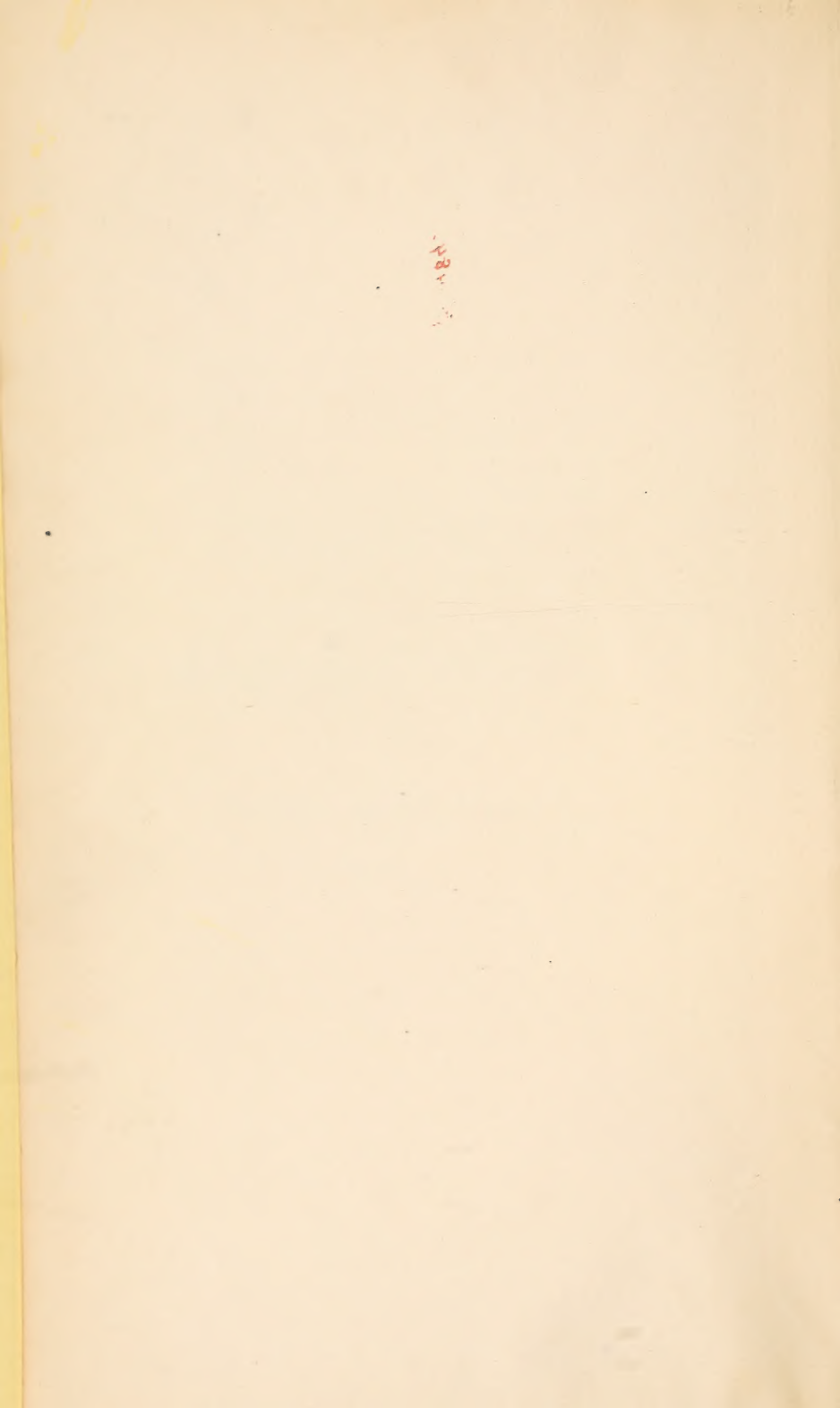


57-

THE LIBRARY
OF THE
University of Toronto,
FROM
THOMAS HODGINS, M.A.
1890.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2007 with funding from
Microsoft Corporation



THE
EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY

ANALYSED:

ITS THEORY DEVELOPED

AND

PRACTICALLY APPLIED;

AND CONFIRMED IN ITS

DATES AND DETAILS,

FROM ITS AGREEMENT WITH THE

HIEROGLYPHIC MONUMENTS,

AND THE

SCRIPTURE CHRONOLOGY.

BY

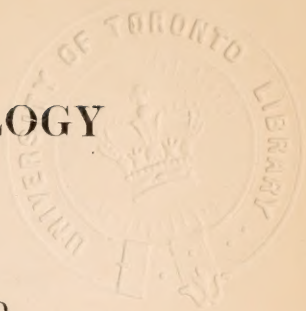
FREDERICK NOLAN, LL.D. F.R.S.

VICAR OF PRITTLEWELL, ESSEX.

Seeleys,

FLEET-STREET, AND HANOVER-STREET, LONDON.

M.DCCC.XLVIII.





OXFORD:

PRINTED BY T. COMBE, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY.

2084

21/4/1890

6

P R E F A C E.

SOME years have elapsed, since the author formed a conception *a priori*, that if the Ancient Cycles were developed, and applied to the works of Chronologists, they would supply a criterion, by which their accuracy might be confirmed, and their errors detected. As they constitute a determinate scale, the graduation of which is easily discovered; it seemed reasonable to conclude, that, as the course of time had been marked by their revolutions, they supplied a standard by which its conformity to the original disposition might be determined, and every deviation from its proportions easily detected.

Among the earliest essays, in which the principle thus conceived was reduced to practice, a trial of its efficacy was made on the Egyptian Chronology. In selecting it for experiment, the author was not merely influenced, by the consideration of the intricacy of the subject, but by a

sense of the failure of every antecedent attempt to disengage its perplexities, and reduce it to certain principles. It appeared reasonable to conclude that, if the difficulties of an undertaking so unpromising of a favorable issue, were once overcome; no slight evidence would be obtained of the capabilities of the instrument, by which they were conquered, when applied to less involved and discouraging subjects.

The first application of the principle, thus conceived, appeared in two Memoirs, submitted in the year 1830 to the Royal Society of Literature, which have been inserted in the third volume of its Transactions. In the second of these essays, the principles were disclosed, which are more minutely investigated, and extensively applied, in the subjoined disquisition^a. The rapidity with which the first inquiry had been pursued,—the hasty results of which were laid before the Society, in compliance with solicitation, rather than the dictates of judgment,—led to many imperfections and deficiencies in the original production, which have rendered its appearance in a new and improved form indispensable. From the general distribution of the Chronology, and the determination of its epochs and duration, the author has not found any reason to depart: as determined on certain principles, the validity of which

^a Trans. p. 1. 291. conf. infr. p. 129. seq.

time and inquiry have but tended to confirm, these are still retained as they were at first established. In the novel form in which they reappear in the present volume, they are regarded in a more comprehensive view, from which nothing has been excluded that might contribute to their illustration or establishment.

In the attainment of this object, the author is so sanguine as to hope that the main obstacles, which have impeded the reception of his views, are at length surmounted. In the rigid and most unfair scrutiny, to which his first essay has been subjected^b, some consolation is left to him, that no objection has been made to the soundness of his principles, or the legitimacy of their application. The exceptions which have been taken to them exclusively affect the limits within which they have been applied, and the document which, in the determination of those limits, defined the extent of his subject. The antiquity of the Chronicle, on which it has been distributed, has been not only denied but its authenticity disputed^c. The objector, appropriating the cyclical criterion, of which the author had taught him the value, though not the use and application; and having freed the subject from every limitation, employs it as a standard to determine the proportions of

^b Conf. *infr.* p. 50. n. i. and k.

^c Böckh, *op. cit.* p. 437. sq.

the Egyptian Chronology. Regarding the whole of the Dynasties of Manetho, as an uninterrupted succession; he adapts them, in the form and order in which they are disposed by Africanus, to the Canicular Cycle; affixing to each reign its supposed date, in the years of that Cycle, as well as those of the Christian era^d.

From a comparative view of the systems which are thus opposed, a suitable idea may be attained of the difference between the Contracted and the Extended Chronology; with which the reader, who would enter into the spirit of the subjoined investigation, should make himself acquainted. It may be at once acquired, by comparing the Canon prefixed to this work, with that which closes the Appendix^e. In the former, the Egyptian Chronology is comprised between the years B. C. 2673 and 350; and in the latter between the years B. C. 5702 and 341. The difference of the intervals, thus computed, between the first and last of the monarchs of Egypt, as amounting to above 3000 years, far exceeds the time which the monarchy lasted, if the calculations of the present Chronology be admitted.

As the system, which is thus extended, has found a partisan, in a scholar of the highest reputation in Germany, who passes in that coun-

^d Conf. 3 Append. infr. p. 475. sq.

^e Comp. Chron. Can. infr. p. xxv. and 3 Append. p. 475.

try, if the author is not misinformed, for a second Scaliger, and is invested with a literary dictatorship in “the northern Athens;” an obstacle is raised in the way of the author, who, in still holding pertinaciously to his first predilections for the contracted Chronology, is thus forced on the defence of the positions which he had previously occupied, in maintaining the decided superiority of that system. Had the extended Chronology, under its new champion, assumed a merely speculative, or hypothetical form; in which an arbitrary theory was devised, and its outline filled up with a selection of Dynasties, taken at the will or caprice of the constructor; after the simple statement that such were its object and pretensions, the author would have deemed it unworthy of further notice. But as the Dynasties of Manetho, as preserved by Africanus, are adopted by this writer in their integrity; and are accommodated, in appearance at least, to the cyclical criterion, which the author proposed for testing the merit of chronological systems; it may be thought to challenge a specific examination. To answer this demand, and remove an obstacle out of the way, by which the freedom of his course was impeded, the author applies himself, in the first Part of his work, which is accordingly devoted to an examination of the comparative merit of the

rival systems which are claimants for our adoption.

The course being so far cleared from impediment, the author in the second Part, enters into an exposition of his own views and objects. The theory of the reduced Chronology is developed and practically applied; the principles, originally followed in the construction of his system, are there more clearly and fully disclosed, and their application justified, on the positive authority of the ancients. The general outline of the subject, being thus defined; it is filled up from the chronological remains of Eratosthenes and Manetho; in accordance with which the supernumerary Dynasties are reduced to order, on a simple principle suggested by the former.

In carrying this plan into effect, the author has seen no reason to depart from his former principles, or to vary the mode of their practical application, as included in the Memoir, which contained the first imperfect sketch of his system. In one Dynasty alone, of the direct succession, he has found it necessary to deviate from the former arrangement; the length of three of the reigns having been merely changed^f, while the period for which the Dynasty continued remains unaltered. In the disposition of the contemporary Dynasties, some slight changes have been intro-

^f Dyn. XXVI reign 1, 4, 5. conf. infr. p. 193.

duced; but they will not be condemned, as arbitrary or unnecessary; the principle on which they are founded, deriving its authority from Eratosthenes, and tending to reconcile the difference between him and Manetho.

On "the Ancient Chronicle," it seems almost superfluous to add, the author's system, in its present no less than its antecedent form, is constructed. To acquire a just estimate of this valuable document, without the aid of which every effort to form a digested Chronology must have proved fruitless and idle; its practical effect, in suggesting a plan, for reducing the promiscuous line of sovereigns to order, must be estimated. Of its usefulness, in this embarrassing undertaking, no adequate notion can be conveyed, without recapitulating a great part of the subjoined disquisition. It will suffice to state, on the present occasion, that while the distribution of the subject into its main divisions has been effected through its instrumentality; the disposition of each part has admitted of confirmation from the express testimony of the ancients. Among its various merits, may be mentioned its facility in reducing an unwieldy and perplexed subject to that order and proportion, which derives ample confirmation from the existing monuments of Egypt, and the progress of the arts and civilization among the natives. And among

its last and highest commendations may be distinguished the coincidences, between the Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology, of which it supplied the foundation; and which, in conferring on the pagan system the sanction of the divine, afford it the fullest confirmation.

It can hardly excite surprise, that an instrument of such force and efficacy, in sustaining the claims of the contracted Chronology, should receive little favor from one, who appeared as the advocate of the rival system. Objections have been accordingly raised to "the Ancient Chronicle," in which its antiquity is not merely denied, but its authenticity is contested^g. But when the artifice is exposed, to which the objector has been obliged to descend, in order to substantiate his charges, it will need no further vindication. Having blindly, or wilfully confounded the document with the impertinent comment prefixed and subjoined to it in Syn-cellus^h; in framing an attack upon the latter, he persuades himself that he has destroyed the credit of the former. Even to the dullest and most careless observer, that irreconcilable discrepancy between the text and comment must be plainⁱ; which must leave the one unharmed by the missile which transfixes the other. The

^g Böckh, ubi supr.

^h Conf. 1 Append. p. 469. 470.

ⁱ Ibid.

edge of the objection only affects the cycle of the zodiacal restitution, as computed from the first degree of Aries; and the apocryphal works, ascribed to Hermes, in which the merit of the later discoveries of the Greeks was transferred to the ancient Egyptians. The cycle mentioned in the Chronicle is, on the contrary, essentially Egyptian, and of unquestionable antiquity^j; it likewise has nothing in common with the Greek cycle, with which it is confounded by Syncellus. In a word, it is merely the great lunisolar period of 36,525 years; the length of which is not only stated, but its nature defined, as declared to be the product of 1461 multiplied by 25^k;—the cycles of so many years having been used by the Egyptians, in computing the solar and lunar revolutions. How far that Great Cycle admits of being confounded with that of the zodiacal restitution; which has nothing to do with the sun or moon, and is strictly confined to the motion of the stars; may be inferred from the mere consideration of the *difference* of their length. When it is known that it amounts to an interval of above 10,000 years; the felicity of the attempt to include them in the same indiscriminate censure may be conjectured; and the force, with which the one is likely to be affected, by any

^j Conf. infr. p. 6. 134.

^k I Append. p. 470.

objection directed against the other, be easily computed.

But it is further objected, to the antiquity of the Chronicle, that in assigning, in its distribution of the Dynasties, the first 15 generations 443 years, it follows Eratosthenes; and in defining the length of the first reigns, the numbers of Eusebius are literally copied. That they *agree*, though very slightly and partially, is readily conceded; but that Eratosthenes is *followed*, or Eusebius is *copied*, remains to be proved, not merely asserted. Until this is effected, the objection owes its entire force to a sophism, and one of the commonest, or indeed vulgarest order. We have the same evidence, as that on which we are content to receive the document, that Manetho allowed himself to be misled by its authority¹: we have so far grounds for concluding that it was antecedent to both those chronologists. By what other figure of logic but a *petitio principii*, it is concluded that Eratosthenes or Eusebius did not borrow from it, or from some common source, to which its compiler was indebted, we still remain to be informed. And until this just requisition is satisfied, the objection, however it may provoke ridicule, cannot deserve refutation.

¹ i Append. *ibid.*

To the perspicacity of the objector who discovers, in this document, the traces of a modern hand, it is further apparent that it is the work of a Hebrew or Christian. A single consideration will be sufficient to establish the *probability* of this assumption, which rests on the same authority as the preceding. To the Jews and Christians, the Dynasty of the Shepherds was an object of paramount interest; to their sympathies it was naturally recommended, by the intercommunity of the history of the Phenicians and Israelites. By such of those writers as have treated on the subject, the Shepherds are accordingly selected as deserving of special remark; Josephus, Africanus and Eusebius have bestowed on them particular notice^m. In the Ancient Chronicle, which might have received this impress of a Jewish or Christian hand; and would have doubtless received it, had its author followed Eusebius in the disposition of the Dynasties; the Shepherds are not merely overlooked, but the place, assigned to them in the Egyptian succession by those chronologists, is consigned to the Thebans or Memphitesⁿ. How far the unsupported assertion of the objector, when weighed against this matter of fact, is

^m Conf. Infp. p. 220—224.

ⁿ Vid. Append. infr. p. 469. comp. p. 220. et Syncel. p. 61.

entitled to respect, may be referred to himself to determine.

The impotency of the attempt to invalidate this inestimable document being exposed; the object which the author proposes to himself, in the two following Parts of the work, admits of an easy explanation. By the evidence which they embody, the chronological system which he advocates is not merely confirmed, but the early document is established, which suggested the ground-plan on which it has been constructed. The evidence, which, in consistency with this object, is collected in the third Part of the work, is deduced from the monumental records of the Egyptians. From the testimony of the Abydos Tablet alone, the reduced Chronology receives the fullest confirmation, as well in its extent, as the connexion of its parts, which are supplied from the remains of Eratosthenes and Manetho. The evidence borne by the detached monuments of different ages, in authenticating its main epochs and general distribution, is equally clear and conclusive. Nor is it impaired, by those immense voids and interruptions, from the failure of monumental records, which is justly objected to the extended system; and which deprive it of all claim to the reputation or character of positive Chronology. Through its entire extent, it is on the contrary sustained, by both species of

evidence; the earliest dates deriving confirmation from the oldest monuments: neither being found to anticipate the other, or fail in supporting it; but bearing with it a constant and unvarying testimony, during the whole of the time assigned to the monarchy. In the degree of rudeness or refinement, in the execution of the monument, on which the testimony is inscribed, it gives proof of its authenticity; the period to which the national annals, and of course the national chronology extended, being distinctly marked in the progress or decline of the arts and civilization.

In the fourth and last Part of his work, it has been the author's object to submit the reduced system to the severest test, in measuring it by the just standard of the Hebrew computation. Between two schemes of Chronology, constructed like the Egyptian and Hebrew on essentially different principles; a conformity in the principal epochs and intervals, cannot be regarded as the effect of design or accident. The minute circumstances to which the conformity extends, and the recondite causes from which it originates, render the supposition not merely groundless, but irrational. A glance cast at the synchronisms which inquiry has brought to light, and which extend not only to the year, but to the month, and even the day, will suffice to prove, that the confor-

mity, in the testimony of two nations to remarkable events, must be traced to a different source. The very number of the coincidences, independent of their nature and character, and the opoprose process by which they have been elicited, conveys no mean presumption, that it is only because it is true, that the evidence proves to be concurrent. By the nature of the instrument, employed by the author in detecting and proving these coincidences, the notion is precluded that they can have arisen in accident: could such be the result, the cyclical criterion, by which they have been drawn forth, must be not only inefficient but nugatory; while it serves as a test for proving the accuracy, or detecting the errors of chronologists. On the coincidences, which it has tended to detect, between the moveable festivals of the Egyptians and the fixed festivals of the Greeks and Asiatics, of which the subjoined disquisition affords some remarkable instances, its pretensions may be securely rested. From that of Isis alone, in concurring with the Thesmophoria of Argos, and the Sacea of Babylon, that evidence has arisen, in support of the present Chronology, by which its accuracy seems to be established, beyond reasonable objection.

It may appear useless or nugatory to protest against the vain attempt, by which this agreement in dates, which have no direct or apparent

connexion, independent of that which arises from the consistency of truth, would be traced to the falsification of one of the witnesses, by whose joint testimony it was established. Had not the imputation been cast on the Ancient Chronicle, that it was indebted to such fraud or address, for that conformity to the Hebrew computation, which is urged in support of the present Chronology, it would not merit an observation. A remark, however, may not be wholly misapplied, which serves to expose the futility of this attempt, to weaken the effect of some stubborn coincidences, which serve as effectually to sustain the credit of the reduced Chronology, as to demolish the pretensions of the extended. Not only the weakness but folly of the attempt, will be apparent, on a bare inspection of the authorities by which the synchronism is sustained on either side; over which, it is inconceivable how any influence could have been acquired, by the Jews or Christians, who have been accused of falsifying or fabricating that ancient document. As the testimony to the coincidence, is generally deduced from the works of Plutarch, on the part of the pagans, and from the writings of Moses, on the part of the Hebrews or Christians; not a step will be gained in substantiation of the charge, until it is shown how either party could have acquired the power to alter those works, to effect their dishonest purpose.

On the possibility of reducing these coincidences, which serve as effectually to sustain the one chronological system as to disprove the other, to the forgery or falsification of early documents, by Jews or Christians, it might seem sufficient merely to mention the irreconcilable discrepancy of their respective computations, not merely when compared with each other, but with the modern systems. That of the Hebrew, which is taken, in the present work, as the standard by which the Egyptian is tried, did not exist before the digest of the science by Archbishop Ussher. The Jews, who professed to follow the Hebrew, and the Hellenists who deserted it for a fanciful system of their own, are irreconcilably opposed to one another. On assuming the date of the Creation,—which, it is now computed, occurred B. C. 4004,—as determined in those conflicting systems, or the date of any event, as calculated from that epoch by a determinate interval; on a comparison, being instituted between the sacred and profane Chronology, instead of coincidences arising, on the dates being confronted, irreconcilable differences would be the consequence of the experiment. How much they are at variance, even in essential points, needs no proof beyond the differences which divide them, on this cardinal epoch, on which the computation of subsequent dates so wholly depends; the Hebrews referring it to the year B. C. 3761, and the Hellenists to that

B. C. 5500. Even in this computation, these calculators are far from constant, while they widely differ from the moderns; among whom likewise, each system finds its adherents, who are far from agreed in their opinions on these subjects. When critics talk about the forgery or falsification of documents; it would be therefore needful they should point out the standard, to which they were adapted.

Having delivered himself thus fully, on the design and scope of his work, the author hopes he may be excused from entering any further into the defence or explanation of his object. In engaging in a task of unusual intricacy and difficulty, he wishes not to conceal, that he has been influenced by motives widely different from those which stimulate the chronologist or antiquary in their researches. From the connexion of the Egyptian with the Hebrew records, which he has been engaged in tracing, his labors have derived an interest and importance with which, it is no disparagement to their investigations, however ingeniously or successfully pursued, to declare they are not attended. In the Revelation which God has been pleased to deliver to mankind, it has been wisely ordered, that it should not be confined to a bare code of laws for the guidance of their opinions or actions; but should be conveyed in a history of his providential

dealings with his creatures. To the credibility of such a record it seems indispensable that it should be exempt from error, not merely in its statement of facts, but the details of time and circumstance. Should the bounds of truth be transgressed, and facts be so far violated, that the world which has been the scene of action, be ascribed a duration, contradicted alike by the sacred annals and the experience of mankind; the interests of revealed truth demand that the vain pretence should be examined and refuted. In extending his operations to such a length, the author ventures to believe he will not incur the imputation of having transgressed his province. He presumes not to suppose that the work, which he receives as divine, and which is sustained by evidence of its own sacred character, can derive support or confirmation from the testimony which he has collected and embodied. But he trusts the bulwark which he has thrown up, however unavailing in the protection or defence of that which is impregnable; may at least serve to silence the opposition by which it is assailed or menaced.

CONTENTS.

CHRONOLOGICAL CANON	p. xxv
---------------------------	--------

INTRODUCTION.

A short account of the early Cycles, and the methods of computing the course of time, employed by the Egyptians.

PART I.

THE RELATIVE PRETENSIONS OF THE EXTENDED AND THE CONTRACTED CHRONOLOGY ESTIMATED.

SECT. I. The Tomes of Manetho, as compiled by Africanus, and preserved in Syncellus, proved to contain contemporaneous Dynasties p. 23

SECT. II. The principles on which the Egyptians extended their Chronology explained; and verified in the intervals, advanced by them, to prove the antiquity of the monarchy p. 44

SECT. III. The celestial appearances by which the Egyptians pretended to establish their antiquity, proved to be exclusively reconcilable with the principles of the contracted Chronology p. 65

SECT. IV. The synchronisms, advanced in support of the extended Chronology, proved to be groundless and visionary p. 80

- SECT. V. The extended system of Chronology proved to be equally irreconcilable with the science, in theory and practice p. 102

PART II.

THE THEORY OF THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY DEVELOPED AND PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

- SECT. I. Theory of the Egyptian Chronology developed, and established by the positive testimony of the Ancients p. 125
- SECT. II. The first grand division of the Egyptian Chronology distributed after Eratosthenes p. 152
- SECT. III. The second grand division of the Egyptian Chronology distributed after Manetho p. 175
- SECT. IV. The contemporaneous Dynasties determined, and distributed in accordance with the preceding grand Divisions of the Chronology p. 204

PART III.

THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY TESTED AND PROVED BY THE MONUMENTAL RECORDS.

- SECT. I. The outline of the reduced Chronology established by the Tablet of Abydos; and proved to be nothing weakened by the Karnac Tablets p. 233
- SECT. II. The contracted Chronology confirmed in its details, by the specific testimony of the Tablet of Abydos p. 264
- SECT. III. The Egyptian Chronology tested and proved, by the testimony deduced from detached monuments p. 301

- SECT. IV. Confirmation of the reduced Chronology,
deduced from ancient monuments which record the
epochs of cyclical periods p. 336

PART IV.

THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY ESTABLISHED FROM ITS CON-
FORMITY TO THE HEBREW COMPUTATION.

- SECT. I. Conformity traced between the Sacred and the
Egyptian Chronology, in the Antediluvian era ... p. 371
- SECT. II. The fable of Osiris and Menes confirmed
from the tradition of Noah, before and after the
Deluge p. 389
- SECT. III. The traditions of Joseph identified in the
account of Hermes, particularly as reformer of the
Calendar p. 402
- SECT. IV. Conformity of the Egyptian and Hebrew
Chronology, from the foundation of the Kingdom of
Israel to the Jewish Captivity p. 447
- Appendix I p. 469
- Appendix II p. 471
- Appendix III p. 474

CHRONOLOGICAL CANON

OF THE

EGYPTIAN SUCCESSIONS.

I. FABULOUS ERA.

6 Gods, 984 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Hephæstos, Phtah	742	B. C. 3873
Helios, Phre	86	3131
Cnoupis, Agothodæmon ...	52	3045
Saturn, Sevek	40	2993
Osiris and Isis	35	2953
Typhon	29	2918

9 Demigods, 216 years.

Horus	26	2889
Mars	23	2863
Anubis	17	2840
Hercules	15	2823
Apollo	25	2808
Ammon	30	2783
Tithoes	27	2753
Sosus	32	2726
Jupiter	21	2694

II. HISTORICAL ERA.

SUCCESSION I.

37 Thebans, 1059 years.

Menes	62	2673
Athothes I	59	2611

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Athothes II	32	B. C. 2552
Diabies	19	2520
Pemphos	18	2501
Tægar Anachus	79	2483
Stœchus	6	2404
Gosormies	30	2398
Mares	26	2368
Anoyphis	20	2342
Sirius	18	2322
Chnubus Gneurus	22	2304
Rauosis	13	2282
Biyris	10	2269
Saophis (Cheops)	29	2259
Sensaophis	27	2230
Moscheris (Mencheres)	31	2203
Musthes	33	2172
Pammes Archontes	35	2139
Apappus the Great	100	2104
Echescosocaras	1	2004
Nitocris	6	2003
Myrtæus	22—1	1997
Thyosymares	12	1976
Thynillus	8	1964
Semphucrates	18	1956
Chuther Taurus	7	1938
Meures	12	1931
Chomaephtha	11	1919
Sæconiosochus	60	1908
Penteathyres	16	1848
Stamenemes (Pt-Amenemes)	23	1832
Sestosichermes	55	1809
Maris	43	1754
Siphoas (Hermes)	5	1711
— Interreign	14	1706
Phruron (Nilus)	5	1692
Amuthantæus	63	1687

XVIII Dynasty. 17 Diospolitis, 333 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Amosis	30	B. C. 1624
Chebron	13	1594
Amenophis I	21	1581
Amense	22	1560
Mephres (Mœris)	12	1538
Miphramuthosis	25	1526
Thothmosis	9	1501
Amenophis II (Memnon) ...	30	1492
Horus	36	1462
Achencherses	12	1426
Rathothes	9	1414
Achencheres I	12	1405
Achencheres II	12	1393
Armais	4	1381
Rameses I	1	1377
Rameses II	66	1376
Amenophis III	19	1310

XIX Dynasty, 5 Diospolites, 185 years.

Sethosis (Sesostris)	51	1291
Rhampses	61	1240
Amenephthes	40	1179
Ammenemes	26	1139
Thuoris	7	1113

XXI Dynasty, 7 Tanites, 130 years.

Smedes	26	1106
Psusennes I	41	1080
Nephercheres	4	1039
Amenophthes	9	1035
Osorcho	6	1026
Psenaches	9	1020
Psusennes II	35	1011

XXII Dynasty, 9 Bubastites, 116 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Sesonchis (Shishak)	21	B. C. 976
Osoroth	15	955
3 kings	25	940
Tacellothis	13	915
3 kings	42	902

XXIII Dynasty, 4 Tanites, 89 years.

Petubastes	40	860
Osorcho	8	820
Psamms	10	812
Zet	31	802

XXIV Dynasty, 1 Saïte, 44 years.

Bocchoris	44	771
-----------------	----------	-----

XXV Dynasty, 3 Ethiopians, 40 years.

Sabachon	8	727
Sevechus.....	14	719
Tarchus (Tirhaka)	18	705

XXVI Dynasty, 7 Saïtes, 160 years.

Stephinales.....	7	687
Nechepsos al. 11	15	680
Psammitichus.....	54	665
Necho.....	6	611
Psamms.....	9	605
Apries (Hophra)	25	596
Amasis	44	571

XXVII Dynasty, 5 Persians, 113 years.

Cambyses	6	527
Darius I.....	36	521
Xerxes	21	485
Artaxerxes	41	464
Darius II	9	423

XXVIII Dynasty, 1 Saïte, 6 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Amyrtæus	6 ...	B. C. 414

XXIX Dynasty, 3 Mendesians, 20 years.

Nepherites	6	408
Achoris	13	402
Psammuthis	30	389

XXX Dynasty, 3 Sebennites, 38 years.

Nectanebo I	18	388
Tachos	2	370
Nectanebo II	18	368
Ochus .....	.....	350

SUCCESSION II.

I Dynasty, 8 Thinites, 353 years.

Menes	62	2673
Athothès	57	2611
Cencenes	31	2554
Venephes	23	2523
Usaphedus	20	2500
Miebedus	16	2480
Semempsis	18	2464
Bienaches	26	2446

IV Dynasty, 8 Memphites, 274 years.

Soris	29	2420
Suphis I	63	2391
Suphis II	56	2328
Mencheres	63	2272
Rhatæses	25	2209
Bicheres	22	2184
Sebercheres	7	2162
Thamphthis	9	2155

VI Dynasty, 6 Memphites, 203 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Othoes	36	B. C. 2146
Phius	53	2110
Methusuphis.....	7	2057
Phiops	94	2050
Mentheshuphis	1	1956
Nitocris	12	1955

VIII Dynasty, 5 Memphites, 100 years.

1st year	1933
Last year.....	1833

SUCCESSION III.

I Dynasty, 8 Thinites, 253 years.

Menes	62	2673
Athothes	57	2611
Cencenes	31	2554
Venephes	23	2523
Usaphedus	20	2500
Miebedus	16 ...	2480
Semempsis	18	2464
Bienaches	26	2446

II Dynasty, 9 Thinites, 302 years.

Bochus	38	2420
Cæachus	39	2382
Binothis	47	2343
Tlas	17	2296
Sethenes	41	2279
Cheres	17	2238
Nephercheres	25	2221
Sesochris	48	2196
Ceneres.....	30	2148

III Dynasty, 9 Memphites, 214 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.
Nacherochis	28	B. C. 2118
Tosorthrus	29	2090
Tyrus	7	2061
Mesochris	17	2054
Soïphis	16	2037
Tosertasis	19	2021
Achis	42	2002
Sephuris	30	1960
Cerpheres	26	1930

V Dynasty, 9 Elephantines, 218 years.

Usercheres	28	1904
Sephres	13	1876
Nephercheres	20	1863
Sisiris	7	1843
Cheres	20	1836
Rathuris	44	1816
Mercheres	9	1772
Thercheres	44	1763
Obnus	33	1719
Termination		1686

THE
EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY
ANALYSED.

INTRODUCTION.

A short account of the early Cycles, and the methods of computing the course of time, employed by the Egyptians.

THE difficulties which attend the reduction of the Egyptian Chronology to systematic principles, have been generally admitted by the most competent judges. To this decision they have been led by the extent and perplexity of the subject, and the inefficient essays of those scholars, who have engaged to little purpose in the attempt of reducing it to order. By some, of no common repute, and of extensive experience in Egyptian literature, the undertaking has been pronounced not merely hopeless but impossible^a.

When these declarations are taken, with the qualifications which attend them; they may be admitted without hesitation or subduction. From the detached dates of the ancient monuments, as recently decyphered by hierogrammatists, and the confused lists of the dynasties, transcribed from Manetho, whether regarded separately or conjointly,

^a Ideler. Hermap. p. 230. Fabric. Bibl. Græc. vol. iv. p. 129. c. ed. Harl.

no certain or probable result is deducible. Of the utter abortiveness of every essay which is deduced from such principles, we have received demonstrative proof, in the monstrous and mishapen progeny of which some learned persons have avowed themselves the fathers. Nor would the experiment, in which they have utterly failed, be undertaken with better prospects of success; had not the ancients themselves set landmarks to the science, by which its inordinate dimensions might be reduced, and its vague proportions determined.

Had not the Egyptian Chronology, in fact, received a connexion with the Cycles, used in the computation of time, for the purpose of reducing it to theoretical principles; every effort must have proved vain and unavailing, to extricate it from its present perplexity. But the cardinal epochs of the chronology have, by means of those instruments, been fixed with precision, and may be determined with certainty; and, if I am not altogether deceived, the theory of the Chronology may be thence recovered. Landmarks may be thus determined, from which, if the primitive boundaries of the science are not ascertainable, a line may be traced which cannot be transgressed, in deciding its limits, without manifest error. The operations of the essayist being confined within the boundaries, thus determined; a system of Chronology may be constructed, in which a degree of relative if not absolute perfection may be attained; and those palpable blunders be avoided, with which those systems are chargeable, that have been constructed on loose and arbitrary principles.

I here assume what will be clearly proved in the course of this discussion, that the Egyptian Chro-

nology was arranged and digested according to a theory. On this principle, the course of time as traced in the native annals, is arranged in the only ancient document from which any notion of the extent or distribution of the science can be acquired. "The Ancient Chronicle," which has been preserved by Syncellus, and of the antiquity and character of which I have elsewhere offered a vindication^b, supplies the necessary data for determining those cardinal epochs, an observance of which precludes the chance of errors of any magnitude, however it may fail in conducting us to strict accuracy. It includes the entire theory of the Chronology, of which it enables us to determine the principal epochs, within a period of 36525 years; of the elementary cycles incorporated in which a just idea must be acquired, before any correct views can be attained on this embarrassed subject. While a brief inquiry, into the nature and use of those circling periods, gives us some insight into the scientific pretensions of this ancient people, it tends to remove the obstacles by which the inquirer into their Chronology is chiefly discouraged in entering into the investigation. While their observations give evidence of the nicest discrimination, and most careful examination; from the rudeness of the methods which they employed, as unassisted by proper instruments, slight inaccuracies were overlooked, which the course of time magnified into inordinate errors. As these defects in their principles, however inappreciable in short periods, would infallibly betray themselves in protracted, they annihilate the claim to a high antiquity which they put in for their science: and prove to

^b See Appendix, N^o. 1. and comp. Pref. supr.

demonstration that their practical Chronology embraced a very limited period of time, notwithstanding the exorbitant antiquity which has been ascribed to the theoretical.

I. The great cycle of 36525 years, by the course of which, as I have already observed, the Egyptian Chronology was digested, when resolved into its elements, proves to be a great *lunisolar* period^c. We require no further proof to be ascertained that such was its nature than the assurance that it was the product of 25 into 1461; the former expressing the number of years in the lunar cycle, and the latter in that of the solar; both of which were in common use among the Egyptians^d. The fallacy that it constituted the Great Platonic year, or period of the equinoctial precession, from which it differed as much in its length as its division, I have elsewhere shown^e; and may find occasion to prove in the course of this discussion.

1. The *solar* element in this great cycle, which first claims our attention, was the great canicular year, which acquired this appellation, as computed from the morning rising of the dog-star^f. The period of 1461 years of which, as already intimated, it consisted, was resolved into lesser periods of four years, in every respect similar to our bissextile period of the same length, but computed from one rising of the same star to another. Both consisted of 3 years of 365 days each, followed by a 4th year

^c Syncel. Chron. p. 51. Euseb. Chron. p. 6. Cory's Anc. Fragm. p. 91.

^d See Trans. R. Soc. of Lit. vol. iii. p. 289. 290.

^e Ibid. p. 290. n. 12.

^f Bainbr. Canicular. cap. 4. p. 39. sq. Des Vignol. Chron. liv. 3. § 4.

consisting of 366 days: the natural year being computed at $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and the quarters gathered into a day, at the close of the quadriennial cycle. The equable year of 365 days was exclusively in common use among the Egyptians; the fourth, or equated year of 366 days, being kept secret by the priests, who made a mystery of the artifice of intercalating, by which its beginning was accommodated to that of the tropical^g. In consequence of this neglect of the intercalation, which occasioned the loss of a day every fourth year, the beginning of the civil year was observed to retrograde through the seasons; until passing on each day of the 365, which constituted the year, it regained its original place, in the secret or natural year, and completed a cycle. As 4 years were necessary to complete the small canicular cycle; $365\frac{1}{4} \times 4 = 1461$ years were necessary to complete the greater; the one consisting of the same number of days precisely as there were years in the other.

2. As the equation of the solar year, and probably its length was ascertained from observing the risings of Sirius; the revolutions of the moon,—as an object no less conspicuous and interesting than the sun or the dog-star,—naturally entered, as an element, into their computations. The *lunar* cycles, as already observed, consisted of 25 years^h; and nothing further is necessary than a knowledge of the length of the year in civil use, to enable us to determine, from the periodical revolutions of the moon, why they were limited to that period. It was ascertained by careful and protracted observations that in 25 com-

^g Trans. ut supr. vol. iii. p. 295. n. 32. p. 289. n. 10.

^h Ibid. p. 289. n. 10.

plete revolutions of the civil year, the moon returned to the conjunction; in such a manner that the beginning of the year, at the conversion of each cycle, coincided with the commencement of the lunar revolutionsⁱ. In 25 years of 365 days each, there are 9125 days; as $365 \times 25 = 9125$: but the mean lunar conjunctions are found to return in 9124 d. 22 h. 50 m. 12 s.^j. The small difference of 1 h. 9 m. 48 s. being inappreciable, from the want of those instruments for the minuter measurement of time which are used by the moderns; the lunar cycle was necessarily regarded as perfect. To combine the solar and the lunar elements, thus determined, became a further object to the computer, who was engaged in seeking a time, when the irregularities in the celestial motions, including those of the sun and moon, would be reconciled, and the heavenly bodies commence their course from a common point and epoch. They were thus necessarily led to the adoption of the great period, which prescribed the limits to their Chronology: which was regularly, as it was naturally reckoned from the commencement of the motions of those luminaries, by whose revolutions the course of time has been immemorially computed.

While the lunar cycle of the Egyptians was fixed at 25 years, the solar, as we have observed, extended to 1461 years. As the greater of these cycles, when divided by the lesser, leaves a remainder of 11 years; they were incapable of being equated in such a manner, as to commence and close together, in a shorter period than that arising from their product. Hence, as $25 \times 1461 = 36525$; of so many years the

ⁱ Trans. ut supra p. 289. n. 10.

^j Ibid.

great lunisolar cycle consisted ; from the commencement of which the Egyptians computed the beginning of time and their Chronology^k. A necessary consequence which resulted from these principles was the immense disproportion that arose between the theoretical and practical departments of the science. While the one, from the mere constitution of its elements, and its detachment from matter of fact, comprised a period of the most inordinate extent ; the other as professed to be founded on recorded events, and liable to be tested by the actual progress of arts and civilization, was necessarily confined to narrow limits.

3. Besides the solar and lunar motions, the *planetary* engaged the attention of the Egyptians, and had an effect on the theory of their Chronology ; from being supposed to exercise an influence over the mundane revolutions, as well physical as civil and social^l. However this opinion obtained credit, into which it is not necessary to inquire at present ; the belief almost universally prevailed, that at the crisis of great planetary conjunctions, in particular points of the heavens, the world would be subject to the contrary fatality of perishing in a conflagration or a deluge. This doctrine is expressly ascribed to the mystagogue Thoth^m, by whom the calendar of the Egyptians was reformed, and their religion new-modelled. That it was received in Egypt, we have the express testimony of Platoⁿ, by whose long residence in the country, and initiation in its mystic

^k Supr. p. 4. n. c.

^m Herm. Trism. ap. Apul. O-per. tom. ii. p. 294. ed. Bipont.

^l Trans. ut supr. 34. n. 120. p. 31. n. 111. Assyr. Expect. of a Great Deliv. p. 34. 171. 178. et nn.

ⁿ Tim. p. 1045. a. cf. Crit. p. 1101. c. ed. Ficin.

learning, his testimony is placed above reasonable exception.

The calculations of the grand conjunctions, to which such catastrophes were ascribed, were founded on the motions of the superior planets, Jupiter and Saturn: as we learn from the inquiries of Kepler, in whose views Laplace appears to have coincided^o. According to the principles which they have laid down, the theory of the Great Planetary Year may be briefly explained, and its influence on the Egyptian Chronology illustrated.

According to the ancient astrologers, the crisis of the grand conjunctions, as dependent on the motions of Jupiter and Saturn, returned in periods of twenty years. For the quicker planet, in performing its revolution of 12 years, having overtaken the slower in eight years from that time: before they again separated, the other planets reached the point where they were conjoined, in consequence of the greater rapidity of their motion. These coalitions of the inferior with the superior planets, at the end of twenty years, were observed to recur at a distance of 8 signs wanting 3 degrees, measured from the place of the last conjunction; as may be readily conceived from the annual motion of Jupiter, which, in passing through one sign in the space of one year, completes one revolution and about 8 signs, in the space of twenty. If at this rate, the motion of the two superior planets be considered for 10 times the preceding period or 200 years; the place of the conjunction at the end of it will be found to be 7 signs in advance of the former point of meeting.

^o Kepl. de Stel. Nov. in Ped. Syst. du Monde, liv. iv. ch. 3.
Scip. cap. vii. p. 27. Laplace p. 204.

And on carrying on the computation at the same rate, for 6 times the latter period, or 1200 years; the conjunction would be found to be 6 signs removed from the first place of congregation, or in diametrically opposite points of the heavens. On thus assuming that in the period of 12 centuries the first conjunction occurred in the summer trope, or as it is now termed the tropic of Cancer; that which occurred at the end of it, as distant from it 6 signs, would necessarily occur in the winter trope, or tropic of Capricorn. According to the principles of the astrological theory, these grand conjunctions, in the opposed points of the heaven, would be attended with a fatal effect on the earth; that which occurred in summer subjecting it to destruction in a conflagration, and that in winter to a deluge^p. Independent of the consideration of these physical catastrophes; to this great period of 12 centuries, the Egyptians would be better affected, in consequence of the ease with which it might be assimilated to their native cycles. On taking their small lunar cycle as a great week; as four weeks constitute an ordinary month, in every century they would find a great month, as consisting of four lunar cycles. And in like manner, as twelve months constitute an ordinary year; 12 centuries, as composed of the requisite number of great months, would necessarily form a Great Year, in which, according to their principles, the motions of the sun and moon, as well as of the planets, would be equated.

In the computation of those grand conjunctions, it must be however observed, that they were likewise regarded as occurring in periods of 800 years, and at

^p Vid. *supr.* p. 9, nn.^{1, m.} comp. Lalande *Astron.* tom. ii. p. 237.

the distance of a trine, or the third of the circle^a. This division, it will be readily perceived, coincided with that of the year into seasons; of which three only, consisting of four months each, were recognised in the Egyptian calendar. The division, by the trine, rather than the opposition, was apparently adopted from the distance at which the grand conjunctions of the highest planets first occur; which, as Kepler observes, are so ordered that the two nearest places of their first congress are distant about a third part of the zodiac. The consequent division of the circle into four trines, which he proceeds to notice, appears plainly to have been adopted from the same theory; the most remarkable having been termed the igneous and the aqueous, from the catastrophes with which, it was supposed, the world was menaced^r. But as those mundane conflagrations and deluges were likewise supposed exclusively to happen, when the grand conjunctions occurred in the tropes of summer and winter; this different division must be regarded as the mere modification of a hypothesis, which admitted of being varied indefinitely. It had the same object, and tended to the same end, though it reached it by a circuitous process. For the great periods of 800 and 1200 years admitted of an easy equation; as three revolutions of the former and two of the latter amount to 2400 years; and were thus, in a continued course of time, readily substituted for each other. In this consideration we probably discover the source of an anomaly in the distribution of the Egyptian Chronology; the fabulous period of which, as properly and essentially theoretical, according to the views or prepossessions of

^a Kepler, ut supr.

^r Ibid.

the computer, is sometimes limited to 1200 years, and sometimes extended to 2400, as a more convenient opportunity will arise for proving.

II. It may be expedient, before these introductory observations are brought to a close, to offer a few additional remarks, on the probable methods by which a knowledge of the foregoing principles and their practical application was acquired, by the early observers. These, we may be assured, were of the simplest, if not of the rudest kind, as they had no knowledge of graduated instruments, or trigonometric computations, by which the motions of the heavenly bodies could be measured, or their required place at any given time be determined. Observers who were destitute of these necessary means, by which the modern astronomer is assisted, must consequently have been confined to the obvious appearance of the heavens, as presented to the eye of the ordinary spectator. It may be concluded from the celestial phenomena, and the nature and extent of the ancient discoveries, that the calculations of the places of the heavenly bodies were made with reference to the visible horizon; and the computations of their motions were exclusively formed, by reckoning the time which elapsed between their leaving and attaining a particular position. Although no attempt was made to divide the starry concave by imaginary circles, and consequently none to divide the circle into degrees or segments, particular points were marked in the horizon, to which their attention was directed in their observations. The terms were thus ascertained, through which the great circles were subsequently traced by the more experienced astronomers; and the number of the

.

degrees fixed, in which they finally graduated the circle. These assumptions, the bearing of which on the present discussion will soon manifest itself, may be made plain by a familiar illustration.

1. To the ordinary observer who applies himself to mark the changes of the sun's place, with reference to the horizon, a few points, in the circle bounding his vision, present themselves, which particularly claim his attention. The extreme points in which the sun was observed to rise, in his daily progression towards the north in spring, or the south in autumn, and the opposite points in which he was observed to set, would excite observation; and his abiding in those points, for a short time, from whence he would be seen to turn, and change the place of his rising and setting, could not long fail to be connected with the season of summer and winter. The observer who was thus far informed, and had learned thus to distinguish the summer and winter tropes, would have virtually attained a knowledge of what astronomers term the sun's orbit amplitude, and would be able practically to determine his entrance into the tropics, although totally ignorant of those imaginary circles. Between the tropes, or extreme points of rising thus ascertained, two middle points, corresponding with those of the east and west, would be soon distinguished, in the course of observation. That these cardinal points had been distinguished by the Egyptians, from the earliest period, we have a practical proof in the position of the pyramids, which are observed to face those points of the compass. That the former were known to the first observers, appears on the testimony of Homer; although his reference to them has ap-

peared to certain critics, who would be less sceptical if better informed, to betray an acquaintance with science, not easily reconciled with its positive state, in the age of the poet^s.

As the length of the year was determined by reckoning the days between the sun's departure from and return to one of the tropes, or the eastern point of the horizon; its division into months was obviously suggested by the observation of the moon's return, in like manner, to the full, or its emerging from obscurity at the conjunction. The computation of the year at 365 days, and its division into 12 months of 30 days each, would be thus acquired in the course of a few years' observation. To dispose of the 5 days, by which the year in its return to the tropes exceeded the 12 months of this length, a very simple method was adopted by the Egyptians^t. They were thrown together, under the name of epagomenæ, or supernumerary, at the end of the year; and in computations consisting of years and months were altogether neglected by the calculator. As this reduction of the days of the year plainly arose from the observance of the sun's daily motion, it tended considerably to simplify his computations; and laid the foundation for the division of the circle into 360 degrees. For the period of his delay in the tropes, the 5 supernumerary days were allowed; $2\frac{1}{2}$ being supposed to be spent in that of summer, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ in that of winter^v, his observed *motion* being

^s Wood, Ess. on Homer, p. 11. and n. comp. p. 17.

^t Censorin. cap. xviii. Trans. ut supr. p. 289. n. 8.

^v As the Canicular year was

imagined under the symbol of the phenix; the revival of this fabulous bird, which shadowed the return of the sun from the winter tropic into the ascending signs,

thus taken at the rate of one degree in a day. The astronomical year thus computed at 360 days, formed a convenient mean between the solar or tropical of $365\frac{1}{4}$, and the lunar of $354\frac{1}{3}$ ^u. That on these principles the equation of the solar and lunar motion was effected by the Egyptians, appears from the account of the discovery ascribed by them to Hermes; from which it must be inferred, that they were acquainted with the bissextile intercalation ^w of the year, from the earliest period. The knowledge of it was, however, preserved as a secret among the priests, probably with a view to conceal the principles on which they ordered the course of the religious festivals.

The above principles, which are deduced from the natural constitution of things, are sufficiently attested by the testimony of the natives to justify our referring to them in the course of the subjoined discussion. From an inconsiderate disregard of them, or the substitution of others in their stead, which the advanced state of modern improvement has suggested, an error has been introduced into the premises of the inquirer which has spread unsoundness to his conclusions. Nor are the consequences less unpropitious to the discovery of truth, when their scientific proficiency has been underrated, than when it has been unjustly estimated by the standard of modern improvement. Thus it has been fallaciously assumed, on the one hand, that the Egyptians had not acquired any knowledge of the true length

was supposed to occur on the third day. Cf. Tacit. Annal. lib. vi. cap. 28. Herod. lib. ii. cap. 73.

^u Trans. ut supr. p. 305. n. 68.

^w Ibid. p. 307. n. 70.

of the year, until a late period, although an ignorance of it must have vitiated their computations, which were in other respects sufficiently rude, and have left their Chronology involved in uncertainty and confusion^x. It has been no less unreasonably concluded, on the other hand, that they had distributed the zodiac into signs, at the earliest period, and were not merely acquainted with the rate of the equinoctial precession, but had computed the period of its revolution^y. In the extreme supposition, on either side, much error has been incurred which it is expedient to remove, as calculated to affect the correctness of the ensuing discussion.

2. Much learned pains have been employed by Allin and Des-Vignolles to prove that the year in use among the ancients, and by which their computations of the course of time were conducted, did not exceed 360 days^z. The root of this error may be at once detected in the remarks which have been lately made on the computation of the sun's daily motion in the year; from which the time of his abode in the tropes was deducted as he was there observed to be stationary. As the rate of his progress was computed by time, not by space; in other words, by days not by degrees; a substitution has arisen, from the influence of modern views and prepossessions, of that measurement to the length of the year, which was properly limited to the sun's observed progress. Had the distinction between his motion by days, and by degrees, existed from the

^x Allin Diss. on Anc. Year. Des Vignol. Diss. de l'Ann. Anc. Trans. ut supr. p. 9. n. 27. 30.

Anc. Fragm. p. 91. Trans. ut supr. p. 4. n. 12.

^z Vid. ut supr. n. x.

^y Syncel. Chron. p. 51. Cory

first, the ambiguity would have been avoided; but as there was no mode of computing the latter, but by numbering the former, the calculation of his annual revolution by days was naturally concluded to be meant of the year. The existence of a civil year of such a length involves such inconsistencies as to render it inconceivable how it could have existed in practice. In it the very object would be defeated for which the course of time was computed; to be a guide and direction to mankind in their social and agricultural occupations. The latter were dependant on the vicissitude of the seasons; but in such a form of year, they were thrown back a month every sixth revolution, and in six times that period, they were completely reversed, the summer months having then fallen into winter, and contrariwise, the winter months into summer. Nor do the accounts, which have been transmitted of a year of such a length, and which Allin has so diligently collected, afford any evidence of its having been in civil use, as he erroneously concluded. They prove nothing more than its existence and use, as a mean astronomical cycle, of which I have already described the advantages; which continued to be felt and acknowledged, after the true length of the year, and the equation of the solar and lunar motions, had been long discovered^a, and which, as the Egyptians believed, in referring the discovery to Hermes, were known in the earliest ages. In a cycle of so equivocal a character, a key is found to the immense periods, extending to myriads of years, on which the ancients sometimes attempted to establish their pretensions to an inordinate antiquity. In

^a Vid. ut supr. p. 15. n. x.

these extravagant computations, the daily revolutions of the sun were substituted for the annual, as Des-Vignolles has demonstrated by the most copious induction of examples: thus reducing this pretended antiquity to limits, consistent with fact or probability^b.

3. Although it is most probable the first Egyptian observers were unacquainted with the use and graduation of the circles, by which the places of the celestial bodies were subsequently computed; it admits not of a doubt that they suggested the subdivision of the circle into 360 degrees, after they had been adopted^c. It must be inferred from their cycles, which were accommodated to the celestial motions, that they conceived the circumference of the concave sphere divided into quadratures, trines and conjunctions^d; from the conception of which the transition was easy and direct to the invention of the circles, and its subdivision into degrees and minutes. I am prepared to admit that the discovery of the zodiac, and its distribution into twelve signs cannot be antedated to the times of Cleostratus of Tenedos, by whom it was scientifically effected, and first published. But it is not to be disputed, that, previously to his times, much had been achieved by the ancients, of which he made ample use, in his improvements on their discoveries. In like manner,

^b Des-Vign. ut supr. tom. ii. p. 636.

^c So much is implied in what Geminus declares of the determination of the movable festival of Isis, as originally concurring with the entrance of the sun into the solstice; in determining the

time of which, the Egyptians employed horologia: conf. Gemin. ap. Petav. Uranol. Doctr. Temp. tom. iii. p. 19. The same may be inferred from Joseph. contr. Apion. lib. i. p. 1061. a.

^d Kepler, ut supr. cap. ii. p. 11. sq.

although the doctrine of the equinoctial precession was not accurately determined until the times of Hipparchus, or its period probably computed; much had been observed, previous to his determination of its rate and period, which was of use to him in his deductions. When the positive knowledge of the ancient observers is estimated at the lowest rate; it must be allowed that they had more than conceived the practicability of distributing the stars into constellations, and dividing the circumference of the starry concave into equal portions: and when the methods of their observations are duly estimated, it will be difficult to resist the conviction that they had acquired a knowledge of the motion of the stars in longitude, and had ascertained principles^e from which its period might be conjectured. When so much is conceded to the ancients, it will not be easy to fix the limit where they fall short in those discoveries of the Greeks, to whom the merit of improvement on earlier observations must be fully conceded.

The instruments employed by the first observers, in the attainment of whatever knowledge they possessed, must have led them to anticipate much which appears to have been acquired by instruments of a more skilful contrivance and minute division. From the employment of the obelisks alone, the foundation was laid for the discovery of a graduated circle, by which the solar motions might be measured; the simple contrivance of marking the gradual progress of the shadow on the ground having given rise to the gnomon and polus, which while it

^e Biot, Recherch. sur l'Astron. Egypt. p. 111.

corresponds with a circle subdivided into degrees, was of immemorial antiquity^f. It has been clearly ascertained from the position of the Egyptian temples, that they were so placed as to indicate to an observer who directed his eye along the front wall to the horizon, the precise point, at which, on a particular day of the year, a remarkable star would become apparent, after having been obscured by the sun, in revolving in his orbit^g. From the position of the obelisks, which were placed before the temples, having two of their sides parallel to its front wall, it is obvious that they were equally calculated to be used in such an observation. It is not easy to conceive how a series of observations could continue to be made in this manner, for a considerable number of years, and the difference between the place of a star's rising on the horizon, at the commencement and close of the period not become perceptible. As the difference between the sidereal and tropical year would occasion its return at the end of the great Canicular year to the expected point of rising, thirty-six years earlier than the computed time: the observation made at the close of that period, compared with that made at the beginning of it, would detect a difference in its place equal to nine days increase computed at the rate of the sun's daily motion^h. And as a difference thus great could not have escaped the observation of the priests who were acquainted with the length of the secret year, and were accustomed to observe the annual rising

^f Dionys. Perieg. p. 35. et Eustath. com. conf. Plut. de Def. Orac. cap. 4. p. 684. al. 44. a.

^g Biot, ut supr. p. 109.

^h Scalig. Emend. Temp. p. 189. c. 196. c. Lalande, Astron. tom. i. p. 164.

of Sirius; by which the quadriennial intercalation of that year was regulated: in observing so much, they must have virtually acquired a knowledge of the increase of the stars in longitude, and precession of the equinoxesⁱ. All the contiguous or remote stars being perceived to preserve the same distance, as previously, both to the observed star and to each other; the entire starry concave, it would be necessarily concluded, had a motion in the same direction, the period of which might be discovered by computation.

4. It has become thus far necessary to investigate the principles on which the Egyptian Chronology was constructed, without a knowledge of which, but little insight can be obtained into its theory, and the investigator must be liable to involve himself in perpetual error. Had but moderate attention been paid to them, we should not have reason to deplore the learned pains which have been attended with little effect but to involve a subject, already perplexed, in greater confusion. We should not have then heard of systems founded on small canicular cycles, composed of years of 360 days, which were so far from having been used, that they were not even imagined^k. Nor could the great canicular cycle have been extended to above twenty revolutions to assign an antiquity to the Chronology^l, which was not merely inconsistent with the deductions of science, but refuted by the known progress of the arts, and observed state of the monuments in Egypt. The

ⁱ Vince's *Astron.* vol. ii. p. 249.
citing Barnard, *Phil. Trans.* N^o.
158.

p. 652.

^l Böekh, *Maneth. und die
Hundsst.* p. 769.

^k Des-Vign. *ut supr.* tom. ii.

outline of the true theory, which is directly supplied by the great lunisolar period, and which leads to its perfect developement, had not then been abandoned for a wild zodiacal hypothesis, by which the ancient essayists were not only misled, but the modern have been unaccountably deluded^m.

It cannot be necessary, in the present stage of this discussion, to enter into a formal proof of the high antiquity, or the precise epoch of the great canicular cycles which have been latterly made the subject of controversy. The former point is sufficiently established in the remarks which I have to make, on the painted ceiling of the Memnonium, and some monuments of the same era. On the latter, an opportunity will occur to deliver my opinions at large hereafter. They who conceive the existence of this ancient cycle affected, by the negative argument, that it appears not to have been employed in any civil or religious purposeⁿ, altogether mistake its nature: they seem to forget that the Egyptians were accustomed to date events by the years of the reigning monarch. In the theory or application of those revolving periods, the crisis of their conversion was principally, if not exclusively, regarded; all consideration of the past or current time being overlooked, as the attention was directed to the future^o. To the conception of such cycles, the Egyptians were necessarily led, by the erratic nature of their civil year, when comparatively viewed with the regular vicissitudes of the natural. And the oc-

^m Syncel. Chron. p. 52. conf.
Böckh ut supr. p. 425.

ⁿ Böckh ut supr. p. 411.

^o V. Boulang. l'Antiq. dévoilé.
liv. iv. ch. 2. § 9. tom. ii. p. 295.
comp. p. 204.

casional notices which appear in Herodotus and Plato, respecting those periodical restitutions, and the images under which they were shadowed, prove their reception among the priests, from an immemorial antiquity^p.

^p Herod. lib. ii. cap. 72. 142. p. 1101. conf. Voss. de Idol. lib. 145. Plato, Tim. p. 1045. Crit. ii. cap. 47.

PART I.

THE RELATIVE PRETENSIONS OF THE EXTENDED AND THE CONTRACTED CHRONOLOGY ESTIMATED.

SECT. I.

The Tomes of Manetho, as compiled by Africanus, and preserved in Syncellus, proved to contain contemporaneous Dynasties.

THE essayist who engages in the unpromising task of digesting the Egyptian Chronology, must feel himself embarrassed in the outset of his undertaking by a bare inspection of the materials, out of which his work is to be constructed. He finds them not merely multifarious and confused; but, in every form which they have assumed, from Eratosthenes to Eusebius, exhibiting little of that coincidence and consistency, which might suggest a just principle of arrangement. The apparent fulness and precision of Africanus's list of the Dynasties, and the lustre shed on his compilation from the name of Manetho, have gained him a reputation, which is rather weakened than confirmed when he is submitted to examination. The imperfections with which his work is charged, as palpably accommodated to a hypothesis, are greatly aggravated in the appearance which it assumes in the Chrono-

graphy of Syncellus. The original text of Manetho, from which it is professedly derived, has suffered no less from the carelessness of transcribers than the perversions of chronologists. Under the transformations which it has thus undergone, it has so far changed its character as to leave us wholly at a loss to conjecture its exact state when it came from the hand of Manetho.

In the form in which it has been preserved by Syncellus, the Egyptian kings are disposed in thirty Dynasties; in reducing them to which number, there is every reason to suppose Africanus adhered to the text of his author. But there is abundant evidence to prove that he has interpolated Manetho with alien dynasties, which the Egyptian chronologists were indisposed to include in the line of succession. His object, in thus enlarging the royal catalogue, is indeed so plain, as to disclose itself without investigation. It was obviously his endeavor to reduce the Egyptian Chronology, as nearly as it was possible, to the standard of the Septuagint, which had been modelled according to a favorite hypothesis. In accordance with its requisitions, the Dynasties were regarded by him, as forming an unbroken succession, and a duration consequently ascribed to the monarchy, in which its antiquity is greatly exaggerated.

Although the length ascribed to the thirty Dynasties varies considerably in the different transcripts of Africanus's work; that at which they are computed in any one will serve the purpose of our immediate deductions. According to the last and most careful scrutiny of his text, it appears that the royal succession, from Menes, the first Egyptian sovereign,

to Nectanebo, the last, occupied the throne for above 5000 years; and terminated about 340 years before the Christian era^a. As the date of the Creation according to the most reputed system of Chronology, preceded this epoch but 3664 years; the beginning of the Egyptian monarchy, as estimated at such a length, necessarily preceded that of the world, by about sixteen hundred years. Since the times of Scaliger, doubts have consequently arisen, whether the catalogue of Africanus did not include many subordinate and contemporaneous Dynasties, with the royal or monarchical succession^b. A question thus arises, which must be satisfactorily decided, before any idea, however inadequate, can be formed of the Egyptian Chronology, or a way opened for its systematic reduction to order. Until it is accomplished, it is impossible to determine, within the inordinate interval of 5000 years, for what time the monarchy lasted: nor can a probable conjecture be formed of the time when a single monarch existed: much less the Chronology of this ancient nation be arranged with that precision, which can entitle it to the name of science.

I. With a view to the removal of these discouraging obstacles, it is in the first place necessary that some definite idea should be acquired of the length ascribed by Africanus to the duration of the Dynasties, when regarded as constituting an uninterrupted succession. According to the summary of the years, which is subjoined to each of the three Tomes, in which it appears they were disposed by Manetho; the first comprising 11 dynasties con-

^a Append. 3. infr. B. C. 5702. et 341. cf. Böckh ut supr. p. 780.

^b Trans. ut supr. p. 324. n.¹²³.

tinued for 2300 years, the second comprising 8 dynasties for 2121 years; and the third comprising 11 dynasties for 1050 years^c. When collected into one sum, the 30 Dynasties must have consequently existed for a period of 5471 years; the previous assumption remaining good that they constituted an uninterrupted succession. After a critical examination of the length ascribed to each of the reigns, into which the Dynasties are distributed; it has been decided, that the period assigned to the reigns in the last two Tomes should be corrected and the whole distributed as follows^d;

		Years.
Tome I.	11 Dynasties reigned	2300
Tome II.	8 Dynasties ———	2222
Tome III.	11 Dynasties ———	844
Duration of the 30 Dynasties		<hr/> 5366

The difference between the length thus assigned to the reigns of the second Tome, and that in the summary subjoined to the text of Africanus is so slight, that it may be supposed to have originated in an error of transcription^e. That between the reigns of the third Tome is too great to admit of a like explanation. It would seem from the extension, as well of its duration from 844 to 1050 years, as of the succession of dynasties beyond the fixed number of thirty, that the interval was prolonged beyond the time, which was necessarily limited to the reigns of the native monarchs. It is thus probable that it included the Ptolemean line of monarchs, and that

^c Syncel. p. 59. 75. 78.

^d V. Böckh ut supr. p. 552.
conf. p. 539. 546.

^e Syncel. p. 78. In the colo-

phon subjoined to Tome III. of Manetho, the amount of the reigns contained in it, is computed at 1050 years.

the dynasty of Persians was introduced for the sole purpose of connecting the reigning sovereigns of that line with their Egyptian predecessors^f. It is indeed difficult to conceive how the former could have otherwise found a place in the royal succession; or how the latter could have been excluded from a line into which the Persians were admitted. In this view, it would appear, that in the copy of Manetho's *Tomes* which Africanus followed, the succession was prolonged beyond the accession of Alexander, if not extended to the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes II., and even to that of Cleopatra. It must be, however, remarked that if prolonged to either of these reigns, it must have been by some other hand than that of Manetho; who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and who does not appear to have survived his son Euergetes; under whom, we shall have occasion to observe, the Egyptian Monarchy would have found a more suitable termination, than under Darius.

But in whatever difficulties the determination of these points may be involved; it will be sufficient for our present purpose, to take the length of the reigns in the three *Tomes*, as estimated at 5366 years; and the termination of the last of them, as fixed in the year B. C. 332; on the subversion of the Persian empire under Darius, and the foundation of the Macedonian by Alexander^g. When carried back so many years from that epoch, the foundation of the Egyptian monarchy, under Menes, will thus fall

^f Append. 3. Dyn. 31st. B. C.
340: conf. Böckh ut supr. p. 780.
in Dyn. XXXI.

^g Append. 3. B. C. 332. conf.
Böckh, ib.

about the year B. C. 5698; or as accommodated to the epoch of the great Canicular period, B. C. 5702^h.

Without extending this exorbitant period to include the fabulous era, and dating its epoch from the accession of Vulcan B. C. 30522; it appears from the preceding computation, that the historical era, as deduced from the accession of Menes, preceded the date of the Creation about 1700 years, according to the computation of the most reputed chronologistsⁱ. If consequently any credit be due to the Egyptian records or chronology, the question which has been proposed for solution would seem to be brought to an issue. To dispose of the difficulty arising from the inordinate length ascribed to the royal succession, we must necessarily have recourse to the supposition of Scaliger,—that it included many contemporaneous dynasties^k.

It is not my intention, however, to insinuate, that Africanus, on whose computations our inferences are founded, would have been disposed to acquiesce in this conclusion. As he adopted the Septuagint Chronology, in which the date of the Creation is placed B. C. 5500 years; the interval, by which it was anticipated by the epoch of the Egyptian Chronology, would have struck him less forcibly than it strikes those who have adopted the Hebrew computation. But his testimony gains more than it loses

^h Append. 3. B. C. 5702. Böckh ib. p. 770.

ⁱ Kepler, de An. Nat. Chr. p. 25. Eccl. Chron. p. 105. Usser Annal. ad A. M. 1. Physical astronomers pronounce this year, as identified with that B. C.

4004, to be a great astronomical, no less than a great chronological epoch: see Kepler and Laplace as cited in the author's Bampt. Lect. for 1833.

^k Trans. ut supr. p. 324.

from this consideration ; as it serves to account for the disposition of the dynasties in his work, in which they are arranged as an uninterrupted succession. By no other disposition could the immense void be filled up, which was occasioned by the high antiquity to which the date of the Creation was removed : although it admits of a doubt, whether he would have acknowledged the preceding computation of the length of the royal succession, as fairly deduced from his principles. When, with this consideration, the summary of the years which is subjoined to the second Tome is taken into account ; the inference is direct from the length assigned to Dynasty XVII. that it must have been extended, or that Africanus must have regarded the Shepherd kings, of whose reigns it is composed, as in some degree contemporary with the native sovereigns¹. It is at least certain, that the epoch assigned to the profane chronology B. C. 5702 and to the sacred B. C. 5500 as recognised by Africanus, would have created a difference between the two systems, which he labored to reconcile, that is only to be reconciled with his chronology on the admission that it included contemporaneous dynasties. By one such interpolation, (in the admission of which the point in dispute is virtually conceded,) the line of succession must have been so disturbed ; that we can know as little of its beginning or its end, as it thus appears we know of its middle. If consequently we would acquire any idea, not merely of Manetho's original work but of Africanus's transcript of it, we must derive it from sources which are extraneous to those which are supplied by ' the Tomes,' as disposed by Syncellus.

¹ V. Syncel. p. 61. comp. Böckh ut supr. p. 774.

II. There is a further and more decisive criterion, by which the preceding conclusion may be more strictly tested and clearly established. From a comparison of the times assigned to the earliest kings, in the catalogues which were made of them by Eratosthenes and Manetho^m; it distinctly appears,—if any respect is due to the succession preserved by the former,—that the *Tomes* compiled by the latter must have included contemporary dynasties. Whatever differences may be described between the remains of those early chronologists; it is at least obvious that they not only agree in retaining the names of some of the principal monarchs, but in disposing them in the same order. They thus furnish the grounds of a comparison, between that part of the succession, which extends from the first to the twelfth or seventeenth Dynasty, from which the character of the whole may be determined, and the point in dispute be finally settled. With a view, consequently, to determine, whether or not, the dynasties compiled by Africanus, included some that were contemporary; the following table has been drawn up, in which the names of the most celebrated monarchs are confronted, which are preserved in the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes and the *Tomes* of Manetho. To both lines are annexed the dates

^m The different parts of the *Laterculum*, of Eratosthenes, as preserved in Syncellus, p. 91. c. seq. may be seen collected in Cory's *Anc. Fragm.* p. 84. *Ide-ler. Hermap. Append.* 16. p. 27. *Des-Vignolles Chron.* tom. ii. p. 733. It forms that portion of the *Chronological Canon*, prefixed to

this work, which is included between the years B. C. 2673. and 1624. That portion of the *Tomes* of Manetho, as arranged by Böckh, with which the comparison is made, may be seen in the Appendix; it extends from the year B. C. 5702 to 1656. of the latter.

of each monarch's accession, computed from the epoch of the monarchy, as founded by Menes; and consequently expressed in years of the Theban era. The numbers on the side of Eratosthenes are those which are directly deduced from his text, by those who acknowledge that era, and arise from the continual addition of the reigns of which he states the duration. Those on the side of Manetho, are adopted as they are found in the chronological schemes of the last inquirer, who regards his dynasties as forming an uninterrupted succession. For the ease of comparison with the work of Africanus, numbers are prefixed to the kings selected from Manetho, expressing the Dynasty in which they are found and the place which they occupied in it: thus it will appear on inspection that Menes is the 1st king of Dynasty I, Souphis the 2d king of Dynasty IV, and so of the others. It may be necessary further to premise, that whatever discrepancy may be observed in the orthography of the names opposed to each other, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that they designate the same monarchs. The only exception, to which this assertion is exposed, seems to lie against the two names which precede that of Nitocris, at the close of the table. But all doubt that the monarchs are identical will disappear, when the length assigned their respective reigns is taken into the estimate; that of a hundred years being ascribed to the first, followed by one year ascribed to the secondⁿ. Any further objection which may be made to the homonymy of the kings, disposed on either side, will be traced, in its proper place, to the

ⁿ Comp. the Canon supr. ad pend. 3. infr. Dyn. VI. B.C. 4312. an. B. C. 2104. 2004. and Ap- 4243.

true source, and shown to arise from the ignorance of transcribers. It may be, however, added for the prevention of unnecessary cavils, that such names, as may be deemed so far exceptionable, may be struck out of the list on either side; as they may be given up without affecting the conclusion.

ERATOSTHENES.		MANETHO.	
Sovereigns.	Years of Menes.	Sovereigns.	Years of Menes.
1. Menes.....	1	Dyn. I. 1. Menes	1
2. Athothis.....	62	— 2. Athothis	62
15. Saophis	414	IV. 2. Souphis	799
16. Sensaophis	443	— 3. Souphis II. ...	862
17. Moscheres	470	— 4. Mencheres ...	928
20. Apapus	569	VI. 4. Pheops.....	1392
21. Echeschescarus	669	— 5. Menteshuphis	1492
22. Nitocris	670	— 6. Nitocris	1493
32. Pt. Amenemes	841	XII. 2. Amenemes	2347

On assuming the most indulgent license of interpretation, the numbers on each side must be allowed to exhibit a discrepancy between the computation of Eratosthenes and Manetho that almost exceeds credibility. The difference between them is not merely observed to increase as the succession is prolonged; but to amount, in the times of Nitocris, to above 800 years, and in those of Amenemes to above 1500. On the assumption of the point in dispute, in the affirmative; every difficulty disappears, and this inordinate discrepancy admits of immediate reconciliation. When it is once conceded that the succession in Manetho is extended by the introduction of contemporaneous dynasties; we have only to conceive these withdrawn to find his numbers so far reduced, as to admit of an accommodation with those of Eratosthenes.

That we must have recourse to this expedient, if we would acquire any just idea of the royal succession from Manetho's remains, appears capable of establishment from a still stricter application of the same criterion. On distinguishing the Dynasties, as reducible to the two kinds, already intimated; we might conclude *a priori*, that those in which the line of succession was preserved, might be determined from the numbers added in the margin of the preceding table; and that of course in Dynasties I. IV. VI. XII. it was properly continued. And, as a necessary consequence of the assumption; it might be further inferred that the eight remaining dynasties, intervening between the I and XII, and distinguishable as the II. III. V. VII. VIII. IX. X. XI, were merely contemporary with the preceding four, in which the royal line was perpetuated. In following this clue, which is not arbitrarily chosen, but which naturally suggests itself; the point in dispute may be brought to a test which is as strict as it is conclusive. If on taking the sum of these eight dynasties, it serves to account for the inordinate difference between the age ascribed to the same king by Eratosthenes and Manetho, and suggests a principle by which their contradictory computations may be reconciled; it will have every claim to be admitted as definitive. The accession of Amemnes, as computed from that of Menes, is estimated at 841 years by Eratosthenes, but at 2347, by Manetho; the difference between which precisely amounts to 1506 years. The difference between this time, and that ascribed to the eight dynasties, regarded as contemporaneous, it will ap-

pear from the following scale, does not exceed five years^o :

		Years.
II Dynasty.	Thinites reigned	302
III ———	Memphites	214
V ———	Elephantines.....	248
VII ———	Memphites 70 days.	
VIII ———	Memphites	100
IX ———	Heracleots	409
X ———	Heracleots	185
XI ———	Diospolites	43

The eight Dynasties reigned 1501

As supplementary to this table, it may be added, that the difference thus observable between the computations of Eratosthenes and Manetho, at the commencement of Dynasty XII. goes on increasing as the succession is prolonged ; until it amounts, at the commencement of Dynasty XVIII, to just 5000 years. And it is no less remarkable, as will be shown when the proper opportunity occurs, that the Tablet of Abydos, in connecting the XIIth with the XVIIIth Dynasty ; is just as explicit in rejecting the five intervening Dynasties, distinguishable as the XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. XVII from the line of suc-

^o Comp. Append. 3. infr. Dyn. II. III. sq. where the length of every reign is expressed at the head of each Dynasty. I have, however, followed Eusebius, in ascribing 100 years, instead of 142, or 146 years, assigned to Dyn. VIII. by Africanus. On taking the distance between Nitocris' last year B. C. 1997 and Amenemes' first, B. C. 1832, as

determined by Eratosthenes, vid. Chron. Canon. supr. B. C. 1997. 1832. the preference well appears to be decidedly due to the shorter computation of Eusebius : the length of the interval being inordinately extended by Africanus. The shorter computation is also adopted by Rosellini : Mon. Stor. tom. i. p. 164.

cession ; as we have observed of the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes, in discarding the eight preceding Dynasties^p. For, these ancient documents will be found, on examination, to afford each other the fullest confirmation ; and to preserve the strictest accordance with the progress of the arts and the remains of antiquity in Egypt, as attested by existing monuments and inscriptions in that country.

But on the latter particulars I now insist, merely as serving to prove that the testimony of Eratosthenes is not singular, in its reduction of the royal line to moderate dimensions. On confining our present attention, to the eight preceding Dynasties, which are rejected from it, on his authority ; and regarding them as contemporaneous, and of course included in it, without reason ; every inconsistency disappears in the date assigned to Amenemes' accession ; before whose reign, as appears from the monuments, little certainty is to be expected in the Egyptian Chronology. On rejecting them, as merely contemporaneous, from the royal succession, the difference of 1500 years between the computations of Eratosthenes and Manetho is accounted for, and their testimony accordingly reconciled ; while the extended Chronology is as effectually subverted, as the reduced is established.

III. From the preceding induction we deduce a positive and still greater advantage ; inasmuch as it serves to confirm the Chronological Canon prefixed to this investigation, which has been constructed on independent principles^q. It not only proves to us that some Dynasties were contemporaneous ; but in determining those which are supernumerary,

^p V. Rosellin. *ibid.* p. 188. c.

^q Trans. *ut* *supr.* p. 39. sq.

enables us to fill up the interval between the foundation of the Monarchy and the eighteenth Dynasty, with the royal succession compiled by Eratosthenes from the Theban archives^r, and comprised in his *Laterculum*. As that invaluable document is but a fragment, which comprises only the kings who reigned during that interval; the exception has been taken to it, that it supplies no connexion between those sovereigns and those of the eighteenth Dynasty of Manetho; without which the evidence is incomplete that the succession is perpetuated in both catalogues. The link between them, is however supplied, as I have already intimated, and shall prove in the proper place, by the Tablet of Abydos. It will suffice, at present, to observe of the *Laterculum*, that it is not merely complete, but exclusive. And while it is admitted to be such, the first fifteen dynasties of Manetho cannot be received as containing any part of the direct line, which is not included in the succession of Eratosthenes. It may be, in fact, proved from evidence, as well internal as external, that where the latter is deemed worthy of respect, the former must be rejected.

1. The whole of the Dynasties, which flourished until the government of the eighteenth, were distinguishable, as we have proved, into two kinds; the four which run parallel with the succession of the *Laterculum*, and the remaining thirteen, which have been rejected on its authority and that of the Tablet of Abydos, as merely contemporary with the preceding. Respecting the rejection of the latter, of course, no question can arise; and, it would seem, could arise respecting the rejection also of the for-

^r Syncel. p. 147. conf. Fabr. Bibl. Græc. vol. iv. p. 127.

mer: on the royal succession being limited to the direct line, it is obvious, that where that of Erato-
sthenes is received as of authority, there is no room
for the admission of any other. We are reduced,
consequently, to the alternative of rejecting them,
whether they agree with the succession of the La-
terculum, or not; in the latter case as opposed to
its authority, in the former as merely confirming
that which is already established, and of course
needs no confirmation.

2. The positive rejection of the first fifteen Dy-
nasties of Manetho, from the direct succession, as
thus established, I have elsewhere shown, is exacted
by the very testimony of Manetho's transcribers and
followers, when impartially considered^s. According
to them, the line of succession was limited to *thirty*,
which they have not only transcribed but numbered;
and in which they have incautiously admitted the
immortal dynasties were included. To make room
for the latter, precisely *fifteen* of the mortal dynasties
must be discarded; as, were they included in the
succession, it would consist not of thirty, but of five
and forty. And unhappily, when they are dismissed,
and their place supplied by the immortals, the pro-
per number is restored^t. The subterfuges to which
the advocates of the extended Chronology have been
reduced, in endeavoring to escape the force of this
objection, have but tended to prove it invincible^v.

^s Trans. ut supr. p. 324.

^t Trans. *ibid*.

^v V. Syncel. p. 54. b. conf.
Böckh ut supr. p. 485. The cavil
raised on the difference between
a *dynasty* and a *generation*, is as

idle as it is misplaced. Dynasties
XXIV and XXVIII consisted
each of a single generation; on
the other hand, a generation
might extend to 30,000 years:
cf. Böckh, ut supr. p. 425. a. c.

But, in addition to the testimony thus reluctantly borne, by the transcribers of Manetho; we may appeal to two chronological indexes; on the nature and necessity of which, as appendages to any compilation of the Dynasties, like that in the *Tomes of Manetho* or the *Turin Papyrus*, I shall have occasion to deliver myself more fully hereafter^u. Of one of those Canons which is generally known as “the Ancient Chronicle,” we are informed, that it misled Manetho; from which we must infer it was not only known to him, but was esteemed by him, in taking it as authority^w. Of the other, it has been supposed,—though it has not been shown on what evidence,—that it was composed by Castor Rhodius^x. By the authors of both these ancient Canons, in accordance with the preceding principles, fifteen of the dynasties of Manetho are positively rejected, and their place supplied by as many generations of gods

548. 549. The equivocation in the sentence, with which Africanus opens his transcript of the *Tomes of Manetho*, in order to exclude the gods from the thirty dynasties, to which he limits the royal succession, is sufficiently palpable; vid. Syncel. p. 54. Böckh ut supr. p. 532. He cautiously abstains from assigning the first place to the mortal dynasties, which he knew was due to the immortal; but he indirectly secures their right to it, by a dexterous allusion to “the semi-gods and manes,” *after* whom, it was plain, the immortals formed “the first dynasty.” It was still too bold a step, to prefix this title to *the first kings* in the succes-

sion; he consequently substitutes *πρώτη βασιλεία*, for *πρώτη δυναστεία*, the latter being already appropriated by the gods, their predecessors. Geh. Böckh, however, readily supplies this defect in his testimony; and substitutes the latter, for the former, in his text, with a becoming contempt for antecedent authority.

^u See Cory Anc. Fragm. p. 89. 91. 92. 94. Ideler. Hermap. Append. p. 17. 18. 29. 30. Birch Obs. on the Hierat. Can. p. 3. Böckh ut supr. p. 452.

^w Syncel. p. 52. d. conf. Böckh ut supr. p. 436.

^x Cory ut supr. p. 91. Ideler. ut supr. p. 30.

and demigods^y. In the divine nature ascribed to these sovereigns, it might appear to any reasoning or reasonable person that a sufficient contradiction was given to the ingenious conjecture, that either of those works was the fabrication of some Jew or Christian^z; for whom, with like ingenuity, a sufficient object, in committing the fraud, has been discovered in the endeavor, to *abridge* the royal succession, in order to *assimilate* the pagan to the sacred Chronology. We are not indeed informed, how an abridgement can be effected by the introduction of a most useless excrescence^a; which, I confess, is as much beyond my capacity to conceive, as it is to imagine how similarity can be produced by combining subjects, which are not merely unlike but incongruous.

IV. There appears to be but one way, as far as I can see, by which the preceding conclusions can be evaded; which must, I conceive, continue in force, until it is proved that the Laterculum is either supposititious, or contains but a selection of Egyptian monarchs. As such insinuations have been thrown out, by persons of some repute in hieroglyphic lore, it may be expedient to bestow on them some passing consideration: although imputations which are unsustained by an observation, may be thought to merit only a smile or a sneer to repel them.

1. The absurdity of adjudicating this extraordinary fragment,—the integrity of which the most sceptical criticism has never questioned,—to any hand but

^y Cory ut supr. p. 89. 92. Ideler, ut supr. p. 18.

See Append. infr. No. 1.

^z Böckh ut supr. p. 437. Bunsen Ægypten's Stelle p. 263. c.

^a Vid. Böckh ut supr. p. 483. sq.

that of Eratosthenes, will be best seen by comparing it with the happiest works of the most skilful sophisticators. Its merits can be only appreciated by those who have experienced its use, in clearing up the obscurities, and disengaging the perplexities of the most remote period of Egyptian Chronology. Of its claims in this respect, abundant evidence has been produced in the course of this investigation. That it has merit, which, however lightly appreciated, is at least rare, and consequently beyond the reach of ordinary literary forgers, we need but mention the interpretations which it contains of the names of the earliest kings of Egypt. That they are just appears from the testimony of philologists by whom they have been readily verified in Coptic^b. It thus possesses the singular, if not unique merit of supplying the only clue to the ancient language of the Egyptians, in establishing its affinity to the modern; and in wanting which key, we should be as much at a loss to determine the meaning of the Egyptian as that of the Oscan or Etruscan. The very corruptions of the orthography of the royal titles, conveys no mean evidence, of the authenticity of the document. In revealing the real pretensions of the scribes, who were only competent to misapprehend, they prove their total incapacity to such a literary fraud.

As far as the *Laterculum* admits of comparison, with the computations of the ancients, they confirm it, by a species of testimony which is the more satisfactory, as it cannot be suspected of being invented.

^b Jablonsk. ap. Des-Vignol, ut supr. t. ii. p. 736. Idel. ut supr. Append. p. 27.

The names of the most remarkable sovereigns, including those discovered in the pyramids, are not only introduced into it, but in the chronological order, in which they occur in the most accredited records. While it possesses the rare merit of extricating the work of Manetho from the perplexity in which it has been involved by his followers and transcribers; no test has been discovered, whether monumental or chronological, by which its accuracy can be tried, which does not afford it the fullest confirmation. The Tablet of Abydos is not more clear and decisive in establishing its integrity, than the chronology of Diodorus; as an opportunity will hereafter occur for proving to a demonstration. As particular examples of the assertion, we may however mention *in transitu*, its conformity, in the first part, with "the Ancient Chronicle^c;" and in the last, with the monuments which preserve the chronology of the XIIth, or XVIIth Dynasty^d. This testimony, by which its credit is sustained from the commencement to the close, bears it out, in the preference shown in it to the contracted as opposed to the extended Chronology; in which it challenges a comparison, and evinces a superiority to every work of the school of Manetho.

2. If the Laterculum be supposed to contain but a selection of sovereigns, which is a supposition that will not be easily reconciled with the preceding evidence of its authenticity; the choice of some kings from among others must be allowed to be founded on some principle which is intelligible and consistent. Admitting that it is not strictly chronological, in the concession of which the controversy

^c Trans. ut supr. p. 293.

^d Bunsen ut supr.

would be yielded; none that is at all plausible seems to be discoverable, if the notion is rejected, that it was the author's object to select those monarchs only who were Thebans, or to give an explanation of their names or titles.

When the Theban monarchs, however, are inspected, of whom Manetho has made a collection, the former supposition must be at once abandoned. If his record of the Dynasties be entitled to respect, —and if it is not, there is no authority on which Eratosthenes can be convicted of error; many, it must be allowed, are omitted in the *Laterculum* which must have found a place in it, had it consisted of a selection of the Thebans. The XIth Dynasty, not to mention the XIIth and XVIIth, contained a catalogue of eleven, of which it takes not the smallest notice^e. The latter supposition is not more tenable. Of many of the names, included in the *Laterculum*, not an effort is made by Eratosthenes to give any explanation. This is clearly the case of the 14th, 18th, 20th, 30th, 34th and 38th names; and apparently that also of the 6th, 16th, 21st and 27th.

As a chronologist, Eratosthenes could in fact have apparently had but the one object in composing this list; which he has sufficiently declared in adding the number of years that each king reigned, after stating his name and its interpretation. Had his *Laterculum* consisted but of a list of detached sovereigns, its author would have taken these pains to no purpose. By the insertion of an interregn of 14 years^f, he seems however to have put the matter out of

^e Böckh ut supr. p. 773. cf. p. 611. ^f Vid. 2. App. B. C. 1706.

dispute. While the motives assigned for supposing that his list consists merely of a selection, are wholly inapplicable to this case; the object was effectually attained of marking a specific interval, the neglect of which would have vitiated the entire computation. By this single test his real object seems to be determined, and the ground for future controversy respecting it, consequently precluded.

In fine, we are certainly assured that Eratosthenes applied himself, and with unrivalled success, to the cultivation of Chronology, and particularly directed his efforts to the removal of its obscurities; and that the Egyptian engrossed his especial attention. Is it, therefore, to be believed, that the greatest chronologist of antiquity should have applied himself to such a task, and the early collectors of such subjects, rejecting his labors, should transmit, as his genuine work, the fabrication of some impostor? The supposition is equalled in absurdity, but by the consequence resulting from it; that the fabrication of such a hand would be found to answer every expectation that could be formed of the genuine production. Without reverting to its claims, as supplying a clue to the Ancient Chronology, by which its obscurities are cleared up, and its perplexities disentangled; by a single instance, out of many that might be named, its merits may be tested. The place and time, assigned in it to the single reign of Amenemes, as computed from Menes, derive from the Tablet of Abydos, and the testimony of Manetho,—when the contemporary dynasties are discarded,—that confirmation, which must for ever embarrass the objector to its authenticity; as involving difficulties for which he will in vain seek a

solution. In its concurrence with those documents, in assigning that monarch the 32nd place in the succession from Menes, with an intervening interval of 841 years from the time of his accession, a coincidence appears, for which the caprice of accident will as little serve to account, as the unsupported charge of falsification. The latter charge must, in fine, be urged to no purpose, and the contracted Chronology and Laterculum of Eratosthenes remain established by the sole testimony of the Tablet of Abydos; until some sage hypothesis is devised to prove this monument, not less than the Laterculum and "Ancient Chronicle," the work of some Jew or Christian. But until this point is attained, we must be allowed to conclude, that such harmony in the testimony of witnesses which are independent and unbiassed, can be imputed but to one obvious and natural cause,—the coincidence which documents that attest the same facts and are at the same time true, necessarily bear to each other.

SECT. II.

The principles on which the Egyptians extended their Chronology explained; and verified in the intervals, advanced by them, to prove the antiquity of the monarchy.

THE comparative merits of the contracted and extended schemes of Chronology may be thus far regarded as satisfactorily determined. But the pretensions which the native Egyptians advanced to an unfathomable antiquity may be still thought to leave the controversy in some degree undecided. When the nature of the evidence is thoroughly understood, to which the advocates of the uncontracted system thus find themselves reduced, to sustain its credit; the cause which it aims at supporting will not derive much strength from its accession. The testimony which it offers proves on examination to be merely equivocal. And when the ambiguity is removed, it changes its adverse character, transforming itself into an indirect and therefore an unbiassed and conclusive evidence, in favor of the system to which it was previously opposed. We have in fact only to follow up the clue which the ancients have supplied to their own meaning. in order to acquire the proper sense and bearing of their statements, which were couched in ambiguous terms, however they might have intended them to be understood.

I. It is mere trifling with a grave subject to oppose, to the sentence of Eratosthenes and the ancient monuments, the testimony of the priests, who endeavored to impress the Greek travellers with an ex-

alted opinion of their country, by magnifying its antiquity, which they described as unfathomable. Such proofs can have no effect beyond that of establishing the national vanity. At such a rate we accordingly find it was estimated by intelligent foreigners. As they were not unconscious of the trick which was played on them, by the skilful use of one or two ambiguous terms; in giving us the key to which, they have enabled us to ascertain their meaning and object^a.

In the priestly frauds which were practised on the unsuspecting, some color of plausibility was necessarily given to the imposition. By throwing back the computation to the earliest time, a change was effected in the denomination, by which the required object was effected. At such a period, the Egyptians computed, as the Polynesians at present, merely by moons; for which, we have the testimony of the Greeks, in supposing, years were substituted in their reckonings^b. The reign of their earliest monarch was thus easily extended, by the application of a principle, which was wholly unadapted to the reigns of later sovereigns. And as the antiquity of the monarchy was thus increased by the extension of any single reign, whatever might be its date; by this device the requisite object was effectually accomplished.

On these principles, the controversy upon the contracted and the extended Chronology, may be reduced to the decision of this question:—Whether, in the immense periods, of which the ancients speak,

^a Plat. Tim. p. 144. d. Eudox.

ap. Procl. in Tim. I. p. 31. 51.

Diodor. lib. i. p. 15.

^b Vid. Böckh, ut supr. p. 448.

n. 1.

years were really meant ; or *months*, and occasionally *days*, were intended ? For, it admits of little doubt, that an equivocal term was employed by them, which meant cycles of the moon as well as the sun ; and comprehended the daily as well as annual revolutions of the latter. The question may be, I conceive, decided from the single reign of Phthah, or Vulcan, whom they placed at the very head of their Chronology ; and from the ambiguity of which, one of the earliest frauds of the priests, on record, was practised on Hecataeus and Herodotus. In the decision of this point, the *charlatanerie* of these dogmatists will be sufficiently exposed, who, receiving these fictions as unquestionable, denounce the contracted Chronology, as the pure fabrication of certain monks of Alexandria ; a sentence, which, if true, would include the Tablet of Abydos ; which must consequently pass for the work of some modern artist.

We are assured, on the same authority, as that on which we are content to receive the other communications of Manetho ; that the period of 9000 years was ascribed, by that learned priest, to the reign of Vulcan, the first of the immortal rulers^c. For the different lengths which have been ascribed to this reign, which has been variously computed, at 680, 724, 742, 980, and 984 years, it would be as difficult to account, as for its preposterous extent, unless on the assumption that they originated in the interpretation of an ambiguous term. It will be still more difficult to explain, unless on the assumption of its truth, how the period of 9000 lunations, should amount to 730½ Egyptian, or 730 Ju-

^c Syncel. p. 51. b. Πρῶτος φη- νεακισχίλια ἐβασίλευσεν. Comp.
σιν [Μανεθῶ] Ἡφαίστος ἔτη ἐν- Trans. ut supr. p. 313. n. ⁸⁴.

lian years; and thus agreeing with one half of the great Canicular Period of 1460 years^d, should account for the extension of this god's reign, and consequently of the Chronology, beyond the length ascribed to the entire monarchical succession.

I have elsewhere given the key to this enigma, which the Alexandrine monks have proved themselves so little competent to invent, that they have shown themselves incompetent to understand it^e. In half the great Canicular Cycles, or 730 years, there are 266,632 days, which when divided by 9000, give a quotient of 29d. 15h. This, as I have shown, is the length ascribed to the synodic month by Hevelius, when both luminaries are in apogee; and which differs from the mean synodic month of 29d. 12h. by a sum which the Egyptians were probably unable to appreciate. From the principles, formerly explained, in describing the Egyptian Cycles, it may be collected, that the neomenia, or new year's day of the erratic or civil year, from the neglect of the intercalation, passed in that time from the summer to the winter solstice; or according to the views and language of the priests and astrologers, from the igneous trope to the aqueous. The consequences of this change, when occurring at a particular crisis of nature, and attended with a grand conjunction of the planets, as I have likewise shewn, would be a Conflagration or a Deluge, according to the trope which the sun entered^f.

We have now only to regard the place assigned by the priests, in their chronology, to Vulcan and

^d Trans. loc. cit.

Censorin. de D. N. cap. 18. Cicer.

^e Ibid.

de N. D. lib. ii. c. 51. Senec.

^f Vid. Introd. supr. p. 9. conf.

N. Q. lib. iii. c. 29.

Typhon^g, in whom the igneous and aqueous principles of nature were supposed to be personified; in order to obtain the true key to the legend, which however ingeniously ascribed to Christians and Jews, was essentially pagan and mythological. In placing the one deity at the head, and the other at the close, of the dynasties distinguished as immortal; they inculcated the received truth, that the catastrophe, produced by either element, would be effected by their influence and authority. With equal consistency they represented the mundane restitution, as produced by the power of fire, or the force of water; according to the deity who reigned, when the crisis was effected. But in thus limiting the reign of Vulcan to 9000 lunations, or 730 years; as the time required by the motion of the sun, in the passing of the neomenia from the igneous to the aqueous trope; they put in an exception for its extension to an indefinite, or indeed infinite period, under a plea that his agency never ceased^h. This precaution, which was in strict accordance with their Mythology, was requisite to save the credit of their Chronology; which experience was liable to disprove, at the end of any definite period. In that which they have defined, in strict accordance with its principles, the minimum was fixed, within which the Great Restitution could have occurred, in the ordinary course of nature.

Until the various particulars combined in this interpretation of the first reign in the Egyptian Chronology,—which, from its inordinate extent, must be

^g Vid. Chron. Can. supr. i Succ. B. C. 3873. and 2918. conf. Böckh. ut supr. p. 451.

^h Vet. Chron. ap. Syncel. p. 51. conf. Cory ut supr. p. 89. a. Böckh ad supr. p. 424.

surely admitted to require some explanation,—can be traced to a probable source, and such as is consistent with the habits of thinking peculiar to this ancient people; it must be allowed to oppose an insuperable objection to the reception of the extended Chronology. Of its effect in reducing the extended to the standard of the contracted, some idea may be formed, from that produced by it, on the former, in its last highly labored publicationⁱ by a German critic who has declared himself the champion of the extended. Of the inordinate period which it is there assigned, no less than 8270 years must be struck off the length of the first reign; such being the amount of the difference between 730 and 9000 revolutions, ascribed to that reign, as they are understood to be solar or lunar^k.

ⁱ Manetho und die Hundssternperiode von August Böckh, Berl. 1845.

^k On the assumption, that the difference between the extended and contracted Chronology, is reducible to that between years and months; see Trans. ut supr. p. 313. n. 84. the proportion, by which the reign of Vulcan has been accordingly estimated, supplies a just criterion by which, that deduced from the Metonic cycle, by Geh. Böckh, may be estimated: conf. Man. u. die Hundsst. p. 451. sq. How far his project for reconciling the different lengths ascribed to the reigns of the gods, in the opposed systems of Chronology succeeds may be collected from the inordinate indivisible remainders, amounting occasionally to 119,

140 and 155 months, which are left, on making the proposed reduction. In its application to the reigns of the semigods, it is palpably a failure, according to the calculator's own admission. It is useless to enquire here, why the ratio between the terms compared should be taken by him from that between the years and months in the Greek cycle; while there was a lunar cycle, recognised by the Egyptians, giving the proportion of 309 months to 25 equable years. Had not my first views, on this subject, been confirmed by the astrological principles, on which the early Chronology of this people was founded; I should have found myself established in them, by such crude and abortive essays, as pretend to amend and supersede them.

II. In following up the same principles, one of the strongest objections may be directly disposed of, from which an argument has been deduced, as adverse to the credit of the contracted, as favorable to the pretensions of the extended Chronology. In a disclosure, made by the priests to Hecataeus, who flourished B.C. 500, which seems to have been confirmed to Herodotus, who visited Egypt B.C. 450, the epoch of the Egyptian monarchy, as deduced from the first king, was thrown back to an antiquity, which far exceeds that recognised in the contracted system. If it can be, however, shown that, on the mere application of the principle, proposed in the preceding interpretation, the objection changes sides, and transforms itself into an evidence, corroborative at once of the contracted and subversive of the extended Chronology; it will be surely allowed that, while the principle itself is confirmed in disposing of the existing difficulty, it supplies as strong a proof as can be well conceived in favor of the exclusive claims of the former.

According to the computation of the priests, as reported by the Greek historian; a period of 11340 years had elapsed between the accession of the first king and the monarch termed Sethos or Sevechus, who was distinguished as the victor of Senacherib king of Assyria¹. On a bare inspection of the account of Herodotus, it plainly appears that his priestly informants took advantage of the double function of the monarch, who was both priest and king, to cover an equivocation, which served the purposes of their deception^m. By a subtle distinc-

¹ Herod. lib. ii. c. 142. 143.

^m In assigning the double cha-

racter of king and high priest to Sethos; the priests laid the founda-

tion between their gods, as separated, in their nature from men, and as incorporated personally in their monarchsⁿ, they denied that Phtha, in his godhead, had reigned upon earth, though as incarnate in the first monarch of Egypt, they included the reign of Vulcan in their computation. That they did this in effect, while they appeared to deny it in words, is placed out of doubt by the consequences which necessarily result from its assumption.

In including the reign of Vulcan in the computation; it must be necessarily inferred that it should be estimated according to the measure of time, which was supposed to be in use under his government. According to the principles which have been lately

dation of an equivocation, of which they took advantage, in determining the duration of the monarchy: computing by the species of descent which best suited their purpose. The proof of its antiquity was founded on the number of the statues, which they affirmed "each high-priest erected of himself in his life time;" and of which they pretended to reckon 341, from the times of Vulcan. The interval, which should have been measured by the succession of the high-priests, was really computed by the generations of the monarchs. To effect this change which they passed on the traveller, they employed the term βασιλεύς, or COṬṬ ἢ, which was equally applied to kings and priests; vid. Wilkins, Mater. Hier. p. 131. and they used an ambiguous phrase which might be understood of either; φάμενοι ἑκαστον

τῶν κολοσσῶν πῖρῳμιν ἐκ πῖρῳμὸς γεγονέναι. The Coptic, which appears, from the few words here introduced, to have been used on the occasion, involves a like ambiguity; by the phrase πῖρῳ-
 𐩧𐩢𐩨 ἢ πῖρῳ𐩢𐩨, which might have been employed by the priests, either species of succession might be expressed: thus in an enchorial ms. at Berlin, cited by Kosegarten, /𐩢 / /𐩢
 𐩢𐩨 ἢ 𐩢𐩨, expresses "Ὠρος Ὠ-
 ρου, 'Horus (the son) of Horus:' Prisc. Ægypt. Liter. p. 40. The phrase in Herodotus, when so understood, is pure nonsense, as literally applied to the succession of statues. While the priests affirmed one thing, their method of proof really established another; vid. Petav. Doctr. Temp. tom. ii. p. 60.

ⁿ Vid. Champol. Panth. Egypt. liv. 2^e. conf. Warb. Div. Leg. vol. i. p. 177. sq. p. 422. n. GG.

developed; in place of the 9000 periods, for which he ruled, 730 years must be substituted, in the computation of the priests, as the just length of his reign; by which the pretended interval of 11340 years will be at once reduced to 3070: as, $11340 - 9000 + 730 = 3070$. But it must be likewise observed of the Successions prefixed to this discussion, in which Vulcan's accession is referred to the year B. C. 3873, that, as framed according to Syncellus's transcript of Manetho, they introduce the reign of Phre, or the Sun,—to which 86 years are ascribed,—*after* the reign of this divinity; while it should be placed *before* it, according to much earlier and higher authority. Such, we are only free to conclude, was the order, in which those reigns were placed by the priests, who were the informants of Hecataeus or Herodotus^o. The accession of Vulcan, having been thus antedated, by the interposition of that reign, must be brought down those 86 years; by which it will be lowered, from B. C. 3873 to B. C. 3787. On taking the interval between the latter date, and the

^o This inference necessarily follows from the exclusion of Helios, or the Sun, from the list of the divinities, who reigned in Egypt, which is given by Herodotus lib. ii. c. 144. 59. at the head of whom he places Vulcan. It has been indeed concluded that the former god was introduced into the royal succession, upon recent authority: vid. Drumann Untersuch. über Egypt. p. 56. The planetary gods, among whom Helios was necessarily included, formed a distinct order from the terrestrial: v. Chærem.

ap. Eus. Pr. Ev. lib. i. c. 10. Ungarel. Obel. Rom. p. 45. n. 212. An exception was, however, made, at a late period, in favor of this god, in consequence of his having been assigned a temple and worship at Heliopolis: vid. Herod. ut supr. In the times of the Ptolemies, to which the Chronology of Manetho must be referred, the original order, previously recognised under Herodotus, was deserted, and the Sun enrolled among the kings of Egypt: vid. Rosset. Inscr. Gr. l. 2. 3. ap. Drumann. ib.

accession of Sevechus, B. C. 719, as fixed in the forecited Succession^p; it amounts precisely to 3068 years. The difference between this interval, and 3070 years, to which we observed the period of 11340 was reduced, on merely computing the reign of Vulcan at its proper length, will suffice to show how far the contracted chronology is supported by the testimony of the priests, as preserved by Herodotus. The insignificant difference of 1 or 2 years, in the computation of so long a period, will disappear; when the necessary allowance is made for that between the Egyptian and the Julian time^q, to which the forecited scale is accommodated. The date of the accession of Vulcan and of Sevechus, as computed by the priests and as marked in the Canon, when that slight correction is made, thus prove to be absolutely identical.

But, that the reduced interval of 3068 years, by which the contracted Chronology is verified, has been justly computed, admits of establishment from another criterion, which is supplied by the historian. In that interval, Herodotus declares, the priests computed 341 descents,—or generations, according to their equivocal language^r. That, whatever might have been their intention, their proof was really founded on sacerdotal, not on regal successions; that is, of priest succeeding to priest, not of son to father; is placed beyond all doubt by the objects to which they pointed in confirmation of their meaning^s. In this view,—from which they contrived to divert the attention of Herodotus,—each descent

^p Vid. Canon supr. B. C. 3873
—86 and 719.

^r Vid. Herod. ut supr. n. 1.
p. 51.

^q Trans. ut supr. p. 293. n. 26.

^s Vid. supr. n. m. p. 51.

may be taken at the rate of 9 years; at which the Popes are observed to succeed one another^t. When a computation is made on these *data*, the result is, as nearly as possible, the same, as when made by reducing the inordinate reign of Vulcan to its just dimensions; the interval between Vulcan and Sevechus amounting, within a year, to 3070, in both cases; as, $341 \times 9 = 3069$. Of the latter computation, it is no less remarkable than of the former, that the result comes out by the application of a simple and natural principle:—the revolution of a given number of years by the length of a generation, or priestly succession. The legitimacy of this principle is virtually admitted by Herodotus; although, in suffering himself to be deceived by an equivocation, in which the regal and pontifical successions were wilfully confounded, he was altogether mistaken in its application. That he totally failed in divining the true meaning of the priests, and ascer-

^t The pontifical succession, by which the Egyptian may be estimated, is fixed at this rate by Gibbon, *Rom. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 374. n.³. comp. p. 350. In justification of the analogy, on which the computation is founded, it may be observed, that one of the priestly order with the title of High-priest, was invested, like the popes, with a primacy over the sacerdotal body. The decrees, which were enacted “by the priests of all the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt,” were inscribed with his name, and dated from the time of his government. While his jurisdiction thus appears to have extended over the

whole kingdom; he held his metropolis at Memphis under the Pharaohs, and at Alexandria under the Ptolemies. For it was a measure of policy, with the Greeks, which was subsequently adopted by the Romans, not to confer this dignity on a native: from whence it must be inferred, that it was in the appointment of the ruling dynasty. On the authority of this functionary, on which great light has been thrown by the ancient inscriptions and papyri, see *Letronne Rec. des Inscr. de l’Egypt.* p. 279. sq. p. 298. *Lenorm. Musée des Antiq. Egypt.* p. 58. *Böckh Erklär. eine Urkund. auf. Papyr.* p. 9. sq.

taining the extent of their computations which he immensely overrated, will be placed beyond a doubt, when we come to explain the phenomenon, to which they appealed in confirmation of their extravagant pretensions. When the four changes in the risings and settings of the sun, to which they thus referred, are fully comprehended; the result of the test on which they relied, will be found, no less than both the preceding, to be as fatal to the pretensions of the extended Chronology, as favorable to those of the contracted.

Reserving this subject, however, for future consideration; it may now be summarily observed, that by a concurrence of independent evidence it is thus established that between the earliest epoch of the monarchy and the twenty-sixth dynasty, no greater interval than 3070 years was really computed. And the conclusion, at which we thus arrive, is no less favorable, as I have intimated, to the reduced than it is fatal to the extended Chronology; in which latter, the correspondent interval is protracted to 29,832 years^u, when deduced from the first immortal ruler, and even to 4995 years^v, when merely deduced from the first mortal. By no ingenuity or address can either number be reconciled with the 11,340 of Herodotus; whether this period be computed from the accession of Vulcan, or of Menes. For, it falls short of the former number as much as 18,442 years, and it exceeds the latter as much as 6385; while the entire length of the twenty-four mortal Dynasties, according to the extended Chronology,

^u Append. 3. B. C. 30522. 711.

conf. Böckh Maneth. ut supr.

p. 770.

^v Append. 3. B. C. 5702. conf.

Böckh ib. p. 770.

does not amount to 5000^w! Until these inordinate differences between this Chronology and Herodotus are proved inappreciable; and the testimony of the Egyptian priests, as reported by the historian, is cleared up or explained away, it must be rejected on their authority.

Before the consideration of the preceding computation is relinquished; a difference in the testimony of Hecataeus, as distinguishable from that of Herodotus, requires some notice. In numbering 330 generations from Menes, while no more than 81 are reckoned in the reduced Chronology, and no more than 113 in the extended; the father of history has but repeated the testimony of the priests^x, or adapted his computation to the notion which he erroneously formed of its nature. In substituting that number for 341, either his text must be supposed incorrect; or his computation must be rejected; unless, indeed, we have recourse to the supposition that he believed it deduced from Menes, while he regarded Hecataeus as having deduced his from Vulcan. On this latter supposition, which I adopt without hesitation, the testimony of those early writers is easily reconciled. For the interval between the two monarchs, it would thus appear that an allowance of 11 generations was made by the historian: by which the computation of the priests was at once reduced from 341 to 330. As the period for which those early sovereigns was supposed to reign, was recognised even by the pagans, as analogous to the antediluvian^y; in that time

^w Vid. Böckh ut supr. p. 777.

By this computer, the accession of Sabacon is identified with the year 4987, reckoned from the foundation of the monarchy un-

der Menes.

^x Herod. lib. ii. c. 99.

^y Varro ap. Censorin. ut supr. Beross. ap. Syncel. p. 29. conf. Cory supr. cit. p. 26. 324.

it was generally allowed the supreme authority was exercised by ten persons^z. And with respect to the computation of the time itself, for which they ruled; as it was specifically that of the priests, we need not bestow upon it any further attention, having already estimated its value. If when computed at 341 generations, it proved innocuous, in its bearing upon the contracted Chronology; when further reduced to 330, it cannot be deemed formidable; were we even unable to trace the difference between these numbers to a probable source, for which, however, I conceive, I have fully accounted.

III. Next in importance to the testimony of Hecataeus, as preserved by Herodotus, stands that of Solon as transmitted by Plato^a. As professedly delivering the opinions of the priests, it claims attention, in coming from the highest authority. It is no less remarkable, as standing, in its literal force, in direct opposition to the contracted Chronology; than as yielding it unqualified support, when fully comprehended. This aspect it assumes towards it, not merely by the application of the same principle, by which the preceding interval of 11,340 years was reduced to the standard of that Chronology; but the identical proportions, according to which, the reduction was effected. In the strictest conformity with Egyptian modes of thinking, the lesser interval of 3070 years was substituted for the greater; years having been numbered, by the computer, when months were really, or tacitly, intended. And as the licence of interpretation thus employed was not

^z Syncel. supr. cit. Cyril. contr. 139. d.

Jul. lib. i. c. 8. Cosm. Indic. lib.
xii. c. 1. 3. Theoph. Antioch. p.

^a Plat. Tim. p. 1045. Crit. p.
1100.

arbitrarily chosen, it was not indefinitely exercised; but was strictly limited to a fixed and well known period, in the successive returns of which, the Egyptians believed, that great revolutions would be effected in the natural and moral world^b.

The tradition, preserved by Plato, he declares he received from Critias, who had it from his grandfather when an old man; by whom it was declared to have been received immediately from Solon^c. The Athenian lawgiver, in referring to the revolutions which, it was supposed, the earth experienced in deluges and conflagrations, identifies the principle developed at the commencement of the present section, and on which all similar traditions appear to be founded. Some allusion appears to have been retained, in that which Plato has preserved, as thus derived from Solon, to the vague tradition of the expulsion of the Canaanites from Palestine; with which some obscure notions were associated, in the minds of the Egyptian priests from whom the account was derived^d, of the plagues with which their country had been visited, not long previously to that event, and which were easily confounded with such natural convulsions. Between this time, when, it was supposed by Plato, Vulcan had acquired the throne, and that in which the priests related the tradition to Solon, they computed an interval of 9000 years^e. The nature of this period, at the extremes of which great revolutions similar to those on which the tradition turns were supposed to be effected, has been already explained by me; and its

^b Boulang. ut supr. cit. liv. iv.
ch. 2. p. 266. 273. sq. conf. supr.
p. 21. sq.

^c Plat. ubi supr.

^d Id. ibid.

^e Id. ibid. conf. p. 1101. e.

proper length determined, as consisting of so many lunations, and forming one half of the great canicular cycle. It must be surely regarded as a coincidence not to be resolved into accident, that between the proper epoch of this cycle B. C. 1325 and the year of Solon's visit to Egypt, which preceded that of his archonship of B. C. 595,—when filling that office he published his code of laws at Athens,—the period mentioned by Plato, and amounting to 730 years, or 9000 lunations, precisely intervenes^f. Among the natural and civil changes which this interval was supposed to bring about, as has been already intimated, great moral revolutions were included. And it would seem, on the face of the tradition, that Solon, who visited Egypt with the view of inquiring into the institutions of a people distinguished by their legislative wisdom, had sought, like other ancient lawgivers, to acquire a sanction to his code of law, in the popular superstition. The account which he accordingly propagated in Greece, on his return from Egypt, of the subversion of the island of Atlantis^g, in one of the convulsions of nature, bears every character of a pious fraud devised, with such an intention in the spirit of the ancient lawgivers. In the great restitutions, which such revolutions were believed to bring about, the former state of things was conceived to be exactly renewed. The blissful state which the tradition represented as having been formerly enjoyed in that fabulous island, and which according to the version of it by Solon had extended to Athens, that politic lawgiver represented as hav-

^f Dodw. de Cycl. p. 713. conf. Ficin. in Plat. p. 1017.

^g Plat. ubi supr.

ing resulted from the advantages of a wise system of legislation. The intimation now conveyed by him that in the laws which were thus promulgated, he republished ancient and approved institutions, bespoke for the new code the respect of antiquity, and the authority of antecedent experience.

In whatever difficulties the explanation of this tradition thus invested with the reverence of a remote age, may be supposed to be involved; none appear to embarrass the computation of the period between the commencement of the canicular cycle, which restored with its conversion a period of bliss, and the year of Solon's visit to Egypt. As consisting not merely of one half of the great cycle, which was believed to be productive of such effects, but as obviously deduced from the precise year of its epoch B. C. 1325; no doubt can be reasonably entertained, that the Egyptian priests must have had it in view, when discoursing on such subjects with Solon. The tradition which he imported into Greece, in passing from the elder Critias to his grandson, to whom he delivered it when ninety years old, no doubt, suffered in the course of its transmission. The Greeks, who understood the 9000 periods, as consisting of tropical years, naturally supposed it deduced from the reign of the earliest sovereign of Egypt; and thus referred it to the accession of Vulcan, the length of whose reign, as extending precisely to that time, obtained him a direct association with the tradition. Had the nature of the Canicular Cycle been better understood, it would have been rather associated with the name of Amon than of Vulcan. Between the supposed accession of the former B. C. 2783 and the archonship of Solon, B. C. 594, one

great Canicular cycle and a half had, to a year, intervened; as may be directly seen on inspecting the Canon prefixed to this dissertation^h. In the reign of Rameses, surnamed Miamon from his devotion to Amon, when one half of it had elapsed, it acquired a new epoch B. C. 1325, under a reformation which connected its commencement with the heliacal rising of Sirius. And from this date, when its name was acquired, if not its character changed, the computation was made to the time of Solon's visit to Egypt, whence the tradition was imported on which it conferred the reputation, if not the truth of science.

As the coincidences which have been pointed out, in the course of this investigation, can hardly be deemed accidental; and the tradition of which they supply so natural an explanation must have had a consistent foundation, which cannot be readily deduced from any other source: it may be concluded that it affords the true solution of the difficulties which it involves, until at least a better is suggested. Those who may still refuse their assent to the explanation which I have given of "the 9000 years," on which the preceding computations are founded, must find themselves embarrassed in accounting for a succession of coincidences, which are elicited by the use of this single principle, which is not less effective, in its application, than its strict accordance with Egyptian habits of thinking.

But whatever judgment may be formed on this subject; from the computation of the priests, whether taken as reported by Herodotus or by Plato, one inference follows, which must ever prove irre-

^h Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 2783.

concilable with the pretensions of the extended Chronology. Whether we assume the extreme limits which are prescribed in the contracted and extended systems, or take a middle course, in fixing the epoch of the monarchy, under Menes, the first king; the sacerdotal colleges, stand convicted of having extended the interval between him and Sevechus, on some principle analogous to that of reckoning the lunar revolutions as solar. According to the three leading systems, which embrace every conceivable variety, the accession of Menes, must be either dated with the longest B. C. 5702, or with the shortest B. C. 2673: or from some intermediate time as B. C. 3643. But, unfortunately, all these dates fall far short of the epoch, which is assigned to the monarchy and its first king; when carried back, with the priests, 9000 tropical years from the accession of Sevechus, not to mention the archonship of Solon. According to the most extended computation, which offers the most favorable results; the interval between those sovereigns, on taking the dynasties as forming an uninterrupted line, amounts to no more than 2932 years; which *only* differs from the computed interval of the priests, in the *moderate* sum of 6148 years, according to Plato's statement; or if taken as reported by Herodotus, to *no more* than 8408 years! Nor can the discrepancy be removed, while Manetho and his dynasties are deemed worthy of notice; until some principle is devised, analogous to that proposed by the early christian chronologists, and adopted by them from the ancients. And I may be permitted to add, until it is removed, those dogmatists, who have rejected their computations as the visions of

dreaming monks, have proved nothing more clearly than that their own assurance is coördinate with their stupidity.

As we must, consequently, have recourse to some expedient analogous to that which they recommended, in order to assimilate the computation of the priests with the distribution of the dynasties; that which has been employed by me, as in principle the same, though different in the effect, cannot be objected to, as arbitrarily chosen, or vaguely applied. It is a strictly astronomical cycle, to which the Egyptians have avowed a partiality, and have frequently employed in their theories. It at the same time equates the solar with the lunar motions; and is applicable to the circumstances, while it removes the difficulties, of different periods; which were supposed to effect a common end, in bringing about some great moral or physical revolutions. While these are results which will be hardly deemed accidental, as produced by the application of a simple and uniform principle, namely that of *reducing* solar to lunar revolutions; they tend as necessarily to establish the contracted as to refute the extended Chronology.

SECT. III.

The celestial appearances, by which the Egyptians pretended to establish their antiquity, proved to be exclusively reconcilable with the principles of the contracted Chronology.

I have reserved for consideration in a separate Section, the account which Herodotus has preserved of an astronomical phenomenon, by which the Egyptian priests pretended to prove the high antiquity of their monarchy^a. If taken according to their representation, its earliest epochs must be antedated many years to the time assigned them in the contracted system of Chronology. For the perfect justification of that system, it is therefore necessary to obviate the objection to which it may be thus exposed, by proving that the celestial appearances, from whence their inferences were deduced, do not warrant our assuming a higher epoch to the monarchy, than that which it is ascribed in the preceding investigations.

In confirmation of the extravagant interval which the priests computed between the accession of their first monarch and Sevechus; Herodotus declares, they affirmed, that in that time the sun had four times changed its abiding place in rising; that it had “twice risen whence it then went down, and had twice gone down whence it then rose^b.”

In this singular passage, which has appeared to some a paradox or absurdity, others have discovered a palpable allusion to the precession of the equinoctial points, or the decrease of the obliquity of the

^a Herod. lib. ii. c. 142.

^b Herod. ubi supr.

ecliptic^c. Were either of these hypotheses adopted, neither of which can be easily reconciled with the description of the historian, the astronomy of the priests would be placed in irreconcilable opposition to their chronology. From the extreme slowness of those motions, the first of which amounts to about 50" in a year, and the latter to about the same rate in a century; the interval necessary to verify such appearances in the sun's motion, as the priests have described, must have incalculably exceeded that which they have computed.

Other expositors, with very different success, have sought the solution of the difficulty in the appearances in the celestial motions, which presented themselves to astronomers who were accustomed to calculate them by an erratic year^d; the beginning of which retrograded through the seasons, from the neglect of the intercalation. The adequacy of this hypothesis to solve every condition in the problem seems to afford sufficient ground for its adoption. The inferences to which it leads are so far from weakening the foundations of the preceding chronological system; as built on the authority of "the Antient Chronicle," and confirmed, as I shall prove, by the testimony of Eratosthenes and Diodorus: that they tend more convincingly to its establishment. In the interval of 3070 years, to which the computation of the priests has been reduced, phenomena virtually the same with those described by Herodotus, would have presented themselves to observers, who computed the celestial mo-

^c De Louvel, Fracastorius, &c.
conf. Acad. des Inscr. tom. xxix.
p. 82. 87.

^d Scalig. Em. Temp. lib. iii.
p. 135. Ideler Handb. des Chron.
b. i. p. 138.

tions by such a form of year as was used by the Egyptians.

In order to enter more immediately into the views of the priests, it is necessary not merely to accommodate ourselves to the variable standard by which they computed; but to consider the effect which the celestial appearances would have had upon persons by whom it was employed in tracing the course of their motions.

As we measure by a standard of year peculiar to ourselves, we are accustomed to regard every deviation from it as an anomaly. We must equally conclude of the Egyptians, that such was their mode of judging of the form of year, which they were in habits of using. Although to us that species of year appears vague and erratic, on them it necessarily made the contrary impression. As forming their standard for measuring the course of time, it was regarded as fixed, while every departure from it was considered an irregularity. We are led to this conclusion from the analogy, by which our senses, and frequently our judgment, are affected by external objects. When in a boat under sail, we have all the consciousness of remaining at rest, while the land from which we recede appears to be in motion. The proof of the assumption may be however deduced from the consideration of objects properly astronomical. In the impressions which we receive from the solar or terrestrial motions, we naturally substitute the apparent and the real for each other. Although convinced that the earth only is moved, while the sun is at rest; we accommodate our language to what we perceive, and speak only of the solar motions.

As a correct idea of unknown things is frequently best acquired from a consideration of known; we shall be able to form a juster notion of the phenomenon to which Herodotus alludes; and the period necessary to effect it, by considering the impressions which an ordinary observer among ourselves is liable to receive from the same subjects.

In consequence of our computing by the Julian, or equated, year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, and collecting the quarters, every fourth year, in an intercalation; the beginning of the civil and natural year, and of course of their opposed points in the heavens marked by the opposite seasons, are preserved nearly coincident. Every ordinary phenomenon of the heavens is thus included, to our views, in the compass of the annual revolution; and from thus recurring every year ceases to strike us as extraordinary.

The reverse of these appearances struck the Egyptians, who adopted the unequated year of 365 days, in common use, rejecting every species of intercalation. The beginning of the civil year thus receded a day every fourth year from the commencement of the natural; although, from the former being regarded as fixed, the contrary notion was adopted, and the seasons which divide the year into summer and winter went forward in the year, while its beginning really retrograded. Although the peculiar conjunctures, when the beginning of summer and winter coincided with that of the civil year, were thus distinguished as remarkable epochs; more especially because, after an interval of $730\frac{1}{2}$ Egyptian years, or 730 Julian, the civil year began with the one season; and after a like interval, on completing 1461 Egyptian years, or 1460 Julian, it recovered

its original place, and again commenced with the other. In those points the igneous and aqueous tropes were placed, which, when entered by the sun at the beginning of the year, produced the contrary revolutions in nature, a Conflagration or a Deluge^e.

To these different conjunctures, in the great year of that length, Herodotus directs our attention particularly, by his use of the word *ἡθέα*, which, as signifying ‘abiding place,’ is employed by him in a sense nearly analogous to that of our term *solstice*^f. On regarding the motion of the sun in reference to these points in the heavens; he appears to an ordinary observer, as winter is approached, to shift his place of rising daily more to the south, until he reaches, at the commencement of that season, his farthest southern limit in the horizon. Having appeared to make this point his ‘abiding place,’ for a few days; he turns his course northerly, and at the opening of summer, reaches his utmost limit in that direction; where, having again appeared to rest a few days, he retraces his former course, and thus continues to ascend and descend in his successive annual revolutions. On his attaining each of these points, a different face of the heavens presents itself at night to the spectator; the northern hemisphere with the ascending signs being visible when he is in the winter solstice, and the southern with the descending signs, when he is in the summer. The solstitial points likewise occupy the opposite quarters of east and west, at the opposite seasons; the rising point being occupied by that of summer, and the setting point by that of winter, at the one time

^e Vid. supr. p. 7. sq.

^f V. Acad. des Insc. ut supr. p. 94.

of year, which positions are directly reversed at the other.

While these phenomena, through a long succession of ages, appear to us who use an equated year to succeed each other, in the space of every annual revolution; they struck the Egyptian observer who employed an unequated, as remarkable merely at those intervals of 730 years, in the progress of the Great Year, when the beginning of the civil year coincided with that of winter and summer. The different hemispheres, which at each season presented themselves to the native observer, are accordingly depicted on the ceilings of the temples, having Isis in the attitude of a tumbler, and resting with her hands on one of the solstitial points, and with her feet on the other, as ready to make a somerset^g. The representation, which gives the theme of the heavens at the two most remarkable epochs of the Great Cycle, known as the Canicular, has been unhappily mistaken for an exhibition of the zodiac by modern antiquaries^h.

To the full comprehension of Herodotus's words, it is now merely necessary to bear in mind, that there is always a hemisphere, in which, as above the horizon with the sun, and illumined by his beams, the stars are invisible. Into it he appears to the ordinary observer, to set with the stars at evening, and to rise with them out of it, at morning. Conformably to what has been observed of the two remarkable epochs of the great year, when its beginning commenced with the entrance of the sun

^g Descr. de l'Egypt. tom. i. pl. 95. Rec. sur les Mon. Astron. tom. ii. p. 86.

^h Wilkins. Topogr. of Thebes, p. 403.

into the summer and winter solstice; at the former epoch, the northern hemisphere is invisible, and at the latter the southern.

In the different motions of the sun, which we have described under the respective views in which they would strike a modern or ancient observer, we readily discover that which we recognise, as the annual or ecliptic, and as the diurnal; on the former of which depends his access to the solstices, and on the latter his daily rising and setting. To both there is a manifest allusion in the words of Herodotus and Plato; and they not only afford a direct explanation of the observation of the priests, respecting the change of the sun's "abiding place," and interchanging his place of rising and going down; but supply an exemplification of the phenomena in the Great Year, by which the opposed claims of the extended and contracted chronology may be decided.

The justest test, to which the principles thus explained can be put, appears to be suggested by that great cycle. That the priests alluded to it in their communications with the Greek travellers there can be no reasonable ground of dispute. It unquestionably appears from the ancient monuments, that in the computation of remote periods, it was used by the Egyptians. That allusion is made, in Herodotus, to the time of its conversion, is placed beyond a doubt by his direct reference to those changes in natureⁱ, which were only supposed to be produced

ⁱ When the accounts, which Solon and Plato received in Egypt, of the periodical destructions of the earth, by Conflagrations and Deluges, are compared

with the accounts of the phenix, received in the same country by Herodotus, lib. ii. c. 73. no doubt will remain, that the priests must have alluded to the same subject,

at that crisis of the Great Year, when the sun entered the opposed tropes of summer and winter; to which the allusion of the historian is obvious. The times of the conversion of the Great Year, when one cycle terminated and another commenced are fixed epochs: as determined by astronomers^k, they are referred to the years B. C. 2785 and 1325; when, according to the theory of that cycle, the first day of the civil year coincided with the entrance of the sun into the summer solstice. The opposed epochs, when the same day coincided with the sun's entrance into the winter solstice, as distant from the former 730 Julian years, necessarily fell in the years B. C. 3515 and 2055. These four dates, as arranged in the annexed table, with the celestial phenomena attendant on the sun's entrance into his "abiding place," or the solstitial points, will explain the four changes, to which the priests alluded.

Epoch of the Great Year.	Time of its Conversion.	Sun's abiding place.	Place of the Stars.	
			near ☊	near ☋
B. C. 3515.	Jan. 19.	Capricorn.	East.	West.
— 2785.	Jul. 20.	Cancer.	West.	East.
— 2055.	Jan. 19.	Capricorn.	East.	West.
— 1325.	Jul. 20.	Cancer.	West.	East.

In understanding the description in Herodotus with reference to this conformation of the heavens,

in their conference with Herodotus, *ib.* c. 142. 145. Under the fable of that bird, those revolutions in nature were shadowed; from the effects of which they were anxious to convince the Greek traveller, their land had been exempt, during the observed

conversions of the Great Year, by which those convulsions were produced in nature. V. Larcher, *Mem. de l'Inst. Roy.* tom. i. p. 276.

^k Des-Vignol. *ut sup.* p. 570. conf. Bainbr. *Canicul.* cap. iv. p. 29.

we are reduced to the alternative of concluding, that the priests either spoke literally; or, according to their custom, with an equivocation, for the studied purpose of deception. But the former supposition must be abandoned; if their words, as reported by Herodotus, are understood of an interchange of the sun's daily place of rising and setting. In no assignable period of time, could such a change be effected, by any one or more of the various motions of the earth, recognised by astronomers. The sun could have only risen in the east, and set in the west, from the time the celestial mechanism was first set in motion: and it must so continue to rise and set, until the diurnal revolution is reversed, which is subject, [at present, to no sensible permanent variation.

On taking the converse supposition, that an equivocation was intended by the priests; an ambiguity in the terms, which they employed, supplied the direct means of effecting their holy purpose of deception. In most languages, if not in all, the terms *rising* and *going down*, are equivalent to ascending and descending. The former, as rendered by Herodotus, more strictly applied to the *daily* appearance of the sun in the horizon; while there is every reason to conclude the allusion was really made to the *annual*; in which he either ascends to his "abiding place" in the northern trope, or descends to that in the southern. In alluding to which, it has been already shown from Herodotus's words, those crises of the Great Year were intended, when his entrance into the solstices produced great revolutions in nature, the epochs of which are expressed in the preceding table.

By reference to those epochs, the four changes to which Herodotus alludes may be explained in the strictest accordance with the theory of the Great Year, as coinciding with the phenomena of nature. On Jan. 20th B. C. 3515, the sun made the first ingress, in ascending from his abiding place in the winter trope, or tropic of Capricorn. On July 21st B. C. 2785, he made the second, in descending from his abiding place, in the summer trope, or tropic of Cancer. On Jan. 20th B. C. 2055, he made the third change, in again ascending from the winter trope; and on July 21st B. C. 1325, he made the fourth, in descending from the summer. He thus "rose four times from his abiding place," in the tropes, at those remarkable epochs; as he twice descended from that of summer, and twice ascended from that of winter, having previously twice ascended into the former, and twice descended into the latter.

By Plato a more definite description of the phenomena appears to have been elicited from the priests; as turning on the motions of the stars, without particular reference to the sun or his abiding place¹. The rising and setting of those luminaries having been thus literally meant; by a reference to the preceding table, the description may be easily verified. In Jan. B. C. 3515, the constellations in Cancer rose, while those in Capricorn set, acronically. In July B. C. 2785, the phenomena were reversed; those in Capricorn having risen while those in Cancer set, at the crisis of the conversion of the cycle. In Jan. B. C. 2055, the former appearances

¹ Plat. in Polit. p. 535. 537. conf. Mela, lib. i. cap. 9.

were restored; and in July B. C. 1325, the latter, in like manner. It must be, therefore, obvious, without further illustration, that the assertion of the priests had been verified, in nature; four changes in the rising and setting of the opposed constellations, having occurred exactly as they affirmed.

But what is of most importance in the present investigation; by the phenomena thus determined, the period, in which they occurred, is not only limited; but reduced to the term, at which I have declared it should be computed. If the date of Vulcan's accession be referred, as in the Canon, to the year B. C. 3873; and that of Sevechus to the year B. C. 711; the four changes declared by Herodotus and Plato, must have occurred within those limits, and at the times assigned to them in the preceding table. This conclusion directly follows from the consideration, that each ingress of the sun into his "abiding place," in the solstice, upon the first day of the erratic year, required an interval of 730 years to effect it. But between the accession of the early monarchs and the first ingress in the year B. C. 3515, there was but an interval of 358 years; and between the last ingress, in the year B. C. 1325, and the accession of the later monarch, there was but an interval of 614. And in neither interval could the sun have entered the solstice, on the new year's day, according to the civil computation^m. It is impossible consequently to conceive,

^m In the earlier period, the neomenia, in retroceding 84 days, continued but to approach the time of the winter solstice, which it did not reach until Jan. 19.

B. C. 3515. In the later period the neomenia continued to depart from the time of the summer solstice, from which it was distant 153 days, when it ended B. C. 711.

how the tradition of the priests could have approximated more nearly to the course of nature, or the theory of the great year; or have tended to confirm the epochs, assigned to the reigns of Vulcan and Sevechus, in the Canon prefixed to this discussion.

On the contrary, if the period in Herodotus be understood of 11340 natural, or Egyptian years, and the accession of the earlier king be consequently thrown back so many years from that of the later B. C. 711: it will fall in the year B. C. 12051. Between the extremes thus determined, the number of the times of the sun's ingress into the solstices, on the new year's day;—as equal to the number of intervals of 730 years, computed from the last ingress, B. C. 1325,—will amount to eleven, and, within little more than three centuries, to twelve. They are thus nearly triple in number, to those recognised in the priests' calculations, by whom they were expressly reduced to fourⁿ, with every possible inducement to extend rather than abridge their number. It seems impossible, therefore, to evade the conclusion, that the period, assigned to the sun's ingress into the solstices, as tested by his motions, reckoned according to the civil computation of time, have been immensely overrated in being estimated at so many natural years. And consequently, we are reduced to the necessity of understanding it, as not ranging higher than the epoch of the first king's accession B. C. 3873; which, as synchronous with the earliest date of the Chronology, as effectually refutes the extended system as it establishes the contracted.

The remarks, in which I have closed the last sec-

ⁿ Herod. ut supr. Ἐν τοίνυν ἡθέων τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατεῖλαι. καὶ τὰ τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ τετράκις ἔλεγον ἐξ ἐξῆς.

tion, apply in full force to the present; which may be regarded as its sequel. The same principle has been applied in both, in attaining a common object. By a similar reduction, of lunar revolutions to solar, and limited to the same interval of 9000 lunations, or 730 years, which was cardinal in the Egyptian Chronology; the inordinate periods of the extended system have been reduced to the practical standard of the contracted. The principle deriving, in its application, a demonstrative force from the consideration that it is strictly Egyptian; and explains the phenomena which the revolution of that period was supposed to effect, by which it is limited and determined. For, it remains to be observed, that in the application of this principle, in the preceding remarks, results have been obtained, by pursuing a course, essentially different from that which is generally followed in such investigations. Instead of endeavoring to accommodate the immense periods of the ancient computers to the phenomena of nature; it has been my immediate object, to ascertain those phenomena, in the first instance, as affording the only practical criterion by which those periods may be tested and determined. The limited time, in which it appears, from the observation of its course, the phenomena must have occurred, affords as decisive proof,—of the just claims, which have been preferred, in favor of the reduced Chronology,—as of the groundless and extravagant pretensions, which have been advanced in behalf of the extended.

A like inference may be deduced from the accounts of the solar and lunar eclipses; from their observation of which, the priests pretended to de-

duce a proof of the antiquity of the monarchy. Between two of the most remarkable epochs of their Chronology,—the foundation of the first dynasty under Vulcan, and the destruction of the last under Alexander,—they reckoned 48863 years, in which they declared they had observed, 373 solar and 832 lunar eclipses^o. The immense disparity between the number of these observations, and the period in which, it was pretended, they were made, is not less remarkable in the present case, than in that which has been lately examined: nor does it seem possible to reconcile them, unless on the supposition, that the latter has been inordinately extended. If an estimate be formed of the interval, computed between the preceding epochs, from what is advanced as matter of observation or fact; we must conclude that it was consequently of very limited duration. Admitting that but a single eclipse was observed in the course of each year; and in that interval more than one might have been seen by astronomers, who were constantly engaged in the observation of the heavens: a period of little more than 1200 years will express the interval between the first observed eclipse, and the subjugation of the monarchy by Alexander. Although this interval falls far short of the true time of its duration; it greatly exceeds that assigned, by the most competent astronomers, to the earliest eclipses which were actually observed by the ancients. We have the highest authority in the science for believing, that there is no evidence, deserving of credit, of any such observation, previous to the year B. C. 721 P. And this authority, which annihilates the extravagant pretensions of the

^o Diog. Laert. Procem. p. 2. P Vince Astron. vol. ii. §. 1252.

Egyptian priests, derives the fullest confirmation from the testimony of Epigenes; on the period for which there were records of any eclipses, observed by the Babylonians, from whom the Egyptians derived their astronomical information. In limiting them to 720 years^q, he destroys the foundation, on which the latter people maintained their pretensions to such remote antiquity. Whether consequently our estimate be formed, on the number of eclipses, declared to have been observed, or that appear to have been actually observed, on competent evidence; it is alike fatal to those pretensions, on which the extended Chronology is exclusively supported.

From the preceding observations an adequate judgment may be formed of the like pretensions, which were advanced with the same object, by the Egyptians, though sustained by them, on no competent authority. Those different accounts, when merely compared, exhibit such irreconcilable contradictions, as deprive their common testimony of all claim to notice. In substantiation of this charge, it will suffice to observe, that in assigning the date of the same event, they are observed to vary, from 10000 to 23000 years^r: and are so little observable of historical accuracy, as to annihilate all distinction between kings and demigods, making Sesostris the contemporary of Horus^s. Where every thing is thus involved and confounded, it would be absurd to expect consistency or proof, but that which established the incompetence of the computer, and the worthlessness of the computation.

^q Id. *ibid.*

^r Diodor. lib. i. p. 14.

^s Dicæarch. in Schol. Apol. Rhod. Arg. lib. iv. 272.

SECT. IV.

The synchronisms, advanced in support of the extended Chronology, proved to be groundless and visionary.

FROM the preceding inquiry into the testimony of the Egyptian priests, a variety of coincidences have been observed to arise; by which the contracted Chronology is as fully confirmed as the extended subverted. In the course of investigation, some of the most remarkable epochs and intervals were established: the landmarks being thus determined, be observing which, any great error would be precluded in the body of the Chronology. The great epoch of the monarchy, under Menes the founder, and of its meridian glory under Sesostris, its greatest king, were thus established. Intervals were likewise verified that extended from the commencement of the first Dynasty, to that of the twenty-seventh; and that even embraced a period from the beginning to the close of the great Canicular Cycle: by which the Chronology of this ancient people was measured, and on which, it would seem, its theory was constructed. The authority, on which those deductions were founded, was of the highest kind, as that of the native priests; by whom, the Greek travellers who visited Egypt, were admitted to as much knowledge, as they vouchsafed to strangers on such mysterious subjects.

The testimony was, consequently, not less striking or conclusive, as indirect, and as elicited by interpretation and inference. The priests observed, on such subjects, not so much a sullen reserve, as a

religious silence. Greater plainness was not, in consistency, to be expected in their testimony; their secret meaning was thus only to be attained by some method of interpretation. Had it been directly and openly borne, in support of the extended Chronology; it might be justly objected to any method of interpretation, by which an indirect sense was extracted, that it was forced and gratuitous. But so far was that testimony from establishing the dates and intervals of the extended system, that when estimated by its proportions, they proved it inordinately exaggerated. As a resort to some method of interpretation was thus found to be unavoidable, that which was employed, in developing the hidden meaning, was the most simple and appropriate. As it was adopted and applied on no arbitrary ground, but was suggested by the subject; it could not be objected to, as a measure of time, partially chosen and variable in its application, which, in verifying different epochs, would establish none exclusively. The object to be attained, by it, was strictly Egyptian; and was attained by a process strictly Egyptian. While the Canicular Cycle was employed for that purpose, the end to be attained was specifically that which this great period was supposed to effect in its revolution, and was reached by merely taking the requisite portion of the cycle, and substituting its solar for its lunar elements.

It seems, however, that the advocates of the extended system, have coincidences to produce; from which they conceive it derives adequate confirmation. The Hebrew and Greek Chronology are accordingly challenged, as bearing a concurrent testimony in its favor. As two systems, so diametrically

opposed, as the contracted and extended, cannot be both true; such testimony can be merely conclusive in appearance. It becomes, therefore, necessary to the establishment of that which is exclusively so; that the secret of its presumed strength should be detected and exposed. When it is thoroughly understood, the system to which it lends such treacherous support, will be not merely doomed to sink under its own weight, but to stand exposed in its fall to irretrievable ruin.

Among the coincidences from which the extended Chronology is supposed to derive confirmation, a principal place is assigned to that of Amosis, the founder of the eighteenth Dynasty with the times of Moses and Inachus^a. Clemens Alexandrinus in determining, according to his lights and opportunities, the time of the Exodus, had given this 'synchronism' a connexion with a particular year of the Canicular Cycle^b, from which it has been supposed to be determined, with a demonstrative certainty; as it is presumed, the epoch of that cycle may be ascertained with scientific precision^c. But the whole of this proof,—which has so far commended itself to a living writer, that he has made it the basis of his system,—is little more than a reproduction of the errors, which Josephus derived, in a great measure, from Apion the grammarian^d. Were it as easy to prove that Amosis and Inachus were contemporary, as it is to establish the contrary; the

^a Vid. Böckh ut supr. p. 559. conf. 578. seq.

^b Strom. I. p. 335. *Γίνεται ἡ Ἐξοδος κατὰ Ἰναχον, πρὸ τῆς Σωθιακῆς περιόδου, ἐξέλθοντος ἀπ'*

Αλύπτου Μωσέως, ἔτεσι πρότερον τριακοσίοις τεσσαράκοντα πέντε.

^c Des-Vignol. ut supr.

^d Joseph. contr. Ap. p. 1041. g. 1052. c.

certainly that Moses lived at a different time from either would invalidate the conclusion deduced from such fallacious premises. No necessary connexion has been traced between the times of any of them, and a particular year of the Canicular Cycle; nor have we the least ground for concluding that the statement of Clemens was more than a conjecture, founded on the opinion of Josephus, which is demonstrably erroneous.

I. 1. As one of the most important epochs in the Egyptian Chronology, is dated from the commencement of the eighteenth Dynasty; it is not surprising that this time should have been chosen as the foundation of such an inference, as that discovered in Clemens. It was distinguished by a great revolution, in which Egypt recovered its independence, after having been long subject to an alien dynasty. As the foreigners, who had subdued it, were descended from the same stock, and had come from the same land, as the Hebrews; the natives found some difficulty in distinguishing between their conquerors and captives. The expulsion of the Phenicians from the country, and the departure of the Israelites under Moses, were, of consequence, easily confounded. That the two events happened at different times, and under different monarchs, is sufficiently plain from the narrative of the historian; which has been consequently involved in contradiction, that has been detected and exposed by Sir John Marsham^e. As bearing directly on the point before us, it may be observed; that not only the acts of the later monarch are ascribed to the elder, but he is assigned

^e Can. Chron. sæc. IX. p. 133. d. X. p. 241. c. XII. 319. a.

the same name and the same father^f. For it is now placed out of dispute by existing monuments, that the earlier king was termed Amos^g, and the later Thothmes, who was properly the son and successor of Miphrathothmes^h: whereas Josephus, deserting the authority of Manetho, who observed the same distinctionⁱ, terms the elder king Thothmes, and makes him the son of Miphramuthosis. His substitution of the one monarch for the other is, indeed, as plain, as the cause of it appears to be silly. The fugitives whom Manetho described, as having taken their departure under Thothmes, he describes as expelled from the country, because they were infected with loathsome diseases^j. To remove this reproach from his countrymen, the Jewish historian represented their departure as having taken place under Amosis; by whom the Shepherds were expelled, who labored under no such bad imputation.

The definitive testimony of the monuments, however, sets the question at rest^k; and as fully confirms the sound judgment of Marsham, as it confutes the pertinacity of Böckh, who superciliously rejects

^f Joseph. contr. Ap. p. 1041. g. 1052. c.

^g Vid. Birch Gall. of Antiq. Brit. Mus. P. II. p. 69. No. 40.

^h Id. ib. No. 45. p. 70.

ⁱ Vid. infr. n. k.

^j Joseph. ibid. p. 1056. c. d.

^k No evidence appears, on the monuments, for ascribing Amosis the name of Tethmosis, or supposing him the son of Miphrathothmes or predecessor of Amenophis. Vid. Birch, ibid. This mistake, which originated with

Josephus, is the direct consequence of his assuming that the departure of the Israelites took place under the first king of Dyn. XVIII instead of the seventh, who answers such a description precisely. The transcribers of Manetho, with the exception of Josephus and his followers, are uniform in calling the former king Amosis, as he is invariably termed on the monuments; vid. Böckh ut supr. p. 444. 643. 644. 364. 672. conf. p. 638. 657. 674.

his opinion¹. From the discovery of the tomb of one of the task-masters of the Hebrews, it distinctly appears, that the laborers were in full operation in the brick-fields,—four generations later than Amosis,—under Moëris^m; who preceded Thothmes, by two generations, in whose reign they really departed. The time of the Exodus, consequently, which we might reasonably expect to find fixed to a year; in being placed in the reign of Amosis, is antedated to the true time at least 130. For according to Manetho's computation of the reigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which Josephus has preservedⁿ; by such an interval, Amosis appears to have preceded Thothmosis. With such exquisite precision has this cardinal date in the sacred Chronology been determined, which is proposed as an evidence and test of the accuracy of the Egyptian!

2. Whatever may be the merits of such a chronological criterion: it is clear, that on no firmer foundation, than this wilful misrepresentation of Josephus, the accuracy of Clemens Alexandrinus rests in fixing the date of the Exodus^o. As he blindly follows the Jewish historian, in referring that event to the reign of Amosis; we need no further proof of the grounds, on which he determined it, against Manetho's authority, and, as now appears, against that of the monuments. It is therefore preposterous and absurd to take his opinion, as affording any evidence of the reign in which it occurred; or of its distance from the epoch of the Canicular Year, to

¹ Böckh ut supr. p. 82. conf. p. 576.

^m Rosellin. Mon. Civ. tom. ii. p. 254. tav. xlix.

ⁿ Joseph. ut supr. conf. Böckh ut supr. p. 633.

^o Clem. Alex. ut supr. cf. Böckh p. 575.

which, it is plain, the learned father merely accommodated the error of Josephus. And yet, on no better grounds, than this complicated blunder supplies, has M. Des-Vignolles ventured to reject the received authorities, in throwing back the Exodus to the distance prescribed by Clemens, and in taking the date, as thus misplaced, for the basis of an *improved* system of the sacred Chronology^p. And with little consistency, Dr. Böckh, having adopted the principles, of the guide for whom he had discarded Marsham, on such a concurrent weight of grave authority refers the date of the Exodus, from the year B. C. 1492 to the year 1668^q.

It is clear, notwithstanding, from the bare inspection of Josephus, that Clemens, in antedating the Exodus 345 years to the canicular epoch, merely reckoned the distance between Amosis and Sethosis, as he found it computed to his hand, in that historian. As it was believed that the Canicular Year had commenced under the latter monarch, who was identified with Sesostris^r; the computation would be necessarily made from his reign. And as made

^p Des-Vignol. ut supr.

^q Böckh ut supr. p. 577. conf. p. 774. It is amusing to observe, after all, that Clemens bears but a forced and reluctant testimony in favor of the hypothesis of both these chronologists. Following his authority, the one refers the Exodus to the year B. C. 1645; the other to that B. C. 1668; each of them obtaining this result by means of a palpable accommodation. For by Des-Vignolles the computation of Clemens is reduced from 345, to 325 years;

and by Böckh the reign of Amosis is transferred, with the Exodus, from the XVIIIth to the XVIIth Dynasty. It has been already shown, from existing monuments, that the Israelites, so far from having left Egypt under Amosis, were in full operation, under Mœris, having departed in the reign of Thothmes, the grandson of this monarch the son of Miphrathothmes and predecessor of Amenophis: conf. supr. n. ^k and m. p. 84, 85.

^r Tacit. Annal. vi. cap. 28.

from that epoch, referred as we have observed to the year B. C. 1323; when it was carried back 345 years, it would have its beginning concur with the year B. C. 1668. And if we suppose the Hebrews were expelled by Amosis, in the first year of his reign; such would be the date of the Exodus and of his accession. According to the period of 333 years, computed by Josephus between Amosis and Sethosis; the epoch of the Canicular Year, would consequently fall in the 12th of that monarch.

It is not easy to conceive a computation, founded on the same principles as this of Clemens, which could be more rude in the conception, or abortive in the application. It would seem, that its author, with no more knowledge of the canicular cycle, than we derive from the vague description of Tacitus^s, had merely learned that it commenced in the reign of Sesostriis, though in what year he pretended not to determine. On taking the distance of 333 years, between the accession of that monarch and of Amosis; he seems to have made an allowance, at random, of 12 years, in the later monarch's reign; within which, he thought it was probable, the Cycle might have commenced. On adding the two sums together, 345 would necessarily express the number of years between its epoch, and that of the Exodus, as referred to the reign of the elder monarch. The consequences of such a computation, as might be expected, are fully answerable to its conception. With the contracted Chronology, which I hold to be, and doubt not I can prove to be true, it possesses not a solitary coincidence. And a bare inspection

^s Annal. ubi supr.

of the Canon annexed by Geh. Böckh to his digest of the extended Chronology, and subjoined to this discussion, will sufficiently prove that it accords no better with the careful distribution of the digester.

We must, in fact, suppose that in constructing that Canon, its author mainly aimed at establishing the conclusion, to which we are thus brought unless indeed we suppose it his intention to exemplify the address, with which an essayist in chronological science could shift, shuffle and falsify, while he displayed a bold contempt for all facts and dates, times and intervals. That there is no injustice or exaggeration in this statement, a few instances will abundantly verify. The XVIIIth Dynasty, the duration of which is admitted to be properly computed at 333 years, is practically reduced, in the distribution of the reigns, to 263^t. Seemingly with a view to set every thing straight, 66 years are theoretically added to the same dynasty; and, by way of compensation, as many are withdrawn from the following^u. Amosis, whom Manetho assigns the first place in the XVIIIth dynasty^v, is rejected from it into the XVIIth^w; and Menophis, who, in like manner, stands at the close of the former dynasty^x, reappears in the latter, in the new character of Menophres^y,

^t Böckh ut supr. p. 672.

^u Id. ibid. conf. p. 775.

^v By all the followers of Manetho, the first place is assigned to Amosis in Dyn. XVIII: Africanus and Eusebius, from whom we derive our knowledge of Manetho's work, do so in the most express terms: vid. Syncel. ut supr. p. 69. sq. comp. Böckh ut supr. p. 641. 643. 644. 645. 673. Josephus cannot be deemed an

exception; as he merely changes the name of this king to Tethmosis, without changing his place in the dynasty: both names are accordingly compounded by Syncellus.

^w Böckh ut supr. p. 775. conf. p. 671.

^x Id. ib. p. 645.

^y Böckh ut supr. p. 775. conf. p. 577. 691.

as the contemporary of Sethosis. When an experimentalist indulges in such licences, I am curious to learn, what may be the given result which he can fail to establish; and what may be the object he would hope to achieve in effecting his purpose:—if that which I have intimated be excepted?

3. Every deficiency in the testimony of Clemens, it would however appear, is supplied in that of another Alexandrine, named Theon; by whom, it would seem, the epoch of the Canicular Cycle has been accurately determined^z. It notwithstanding appears to me that the testimony of this writer, when justly estimated, establishes nothing so plainly, as that the received system of chronology, in the year when he wrote, sustained no claim to accuracy beyond that which the extended system is assigned in the preceding investigation.

Without entering at present into the question how far the scholium ascribed to Theon, has been justly assigned to him; on the name ascribed to the monarch, from whose reign he dates the canicular epoch, I may be allowed *in limine* to offer an observation. As expressed in the extract published by M. Biot, it is distinctly written Menophis^a. The partisans of the extended Chronology have been much perplexed, in their efforts to discover this name, in the catalogue of Africanus; even after availing themselves of every benefit of their conjectural emendation, in which it is converted into

^z Id. *ibid.* conf. Biot, Recher. sur plus. points de l'Astron. Egypt. p. 303. Cory, *ut sup.* p. 329.

^a Biot *ubi sup.* In the transcript of this fragment, in Mr. Cory's

work, the name is incorrectly written Μερόφρεως. The inflexion of the word, as Böckh was fully aware, indicates the true nominative to be Μένοφης: conf. Böckh, *ib.* p. 691. Cory, *ibid.* p. 119.

Menophres^b. In this improved form, it appears to one enquirer to have arisen, by a slight deflection, from Nuncoreus^c: although this name, which is equally unacknowledged by Africanus, may, by the same licence, and with somewhat more probability, be traced to Mencheres, which is recognised by that writer as well as Eratosthenes. The true name, notwithstanding, however wanting in Africanus, might have been readily discovered on inspecting Eusebius^d; who inserts, between Rameses Meiamun and Sethosis,—the two candidates for the title and fame of Sesostris,—a sovereign whom he terms Menophis, but whom Josephus calls Amenophis and Africanus Amenophath. According to the extended Chronology, the reign of this king, which lasted 19 years, (but which is computed by Eusebius at 40,) extended from B. C. 1345 to 1327^e. What support the Chronology, which dates the canicular epoch in the subsequent year B. C. 1322; and places it, at the same time, in the reign of Sethos or Sesostris^f; can derive from this scholium, whoever may have been its author, far exceeds my capacity to con-

^b Böckh. *ibid*.

^c Bunsen, *ut supr*.

^d Euseb. *ap. Syncel.* p. 73. *conf. Cory, ut supr.* p. 119. The reading, 'Menophis,' in Eusebius's text is confirmed by the translations of his *Chronicon* into Latin and Armenian: *cf. Böckh*, p. 645. And this name, according to the impartial decision of Mr. Birch, comes nearest to the original, as expressed on the monuments. After citing its varieties, as preserved in Manetho, Josephus, Eusebius and Africa-

nus; he concludes, *Galler. of Antiq. ut supr.* p. 106. "Of all these readings, that of Menophis approaches nearest to Meienphtah, the name of the successor of Ramesses III, which the transcribers may have mistaken for Amenophis." By the concurring weight of the entire evidence, the true reading of the name is consequently placed beyond controversy.

^e *Vid. Append. 3. infr. B. C. 1345. comp. Böckh ut supr. p. 775.*

^f *Id. ibid.*

jecture. So far is it from confirming that Chronology, that it is distinctly opposed to it, in referring that epoch to a different and earlier reign; and a reign in which it could not have occurred, if we are to suppose it rightly computed.

On the subject of the author of the scholium, it yet remains to be observed, that there exists not the least authority, for concluding that it was written by Theon^g. As he computes by the years of Diocletian, or Era of the Martyrs^h, and dates from its year 100, which coincides with A.D. 382; we may with greater certainty conclude,—that he was a Christian, for by such principally was that era used,—and most probably that he framed his computation by the Chronology of Eusebius; which appears, at that time, to have been in fashion. On any other assumption, but that of its being a mere computation, it will not be easy to explain, how the author comes to reject the received belief that the cycle commenced in the reign of one of the kings,

^g M. Biot, by whom this scholium was introduced to the learned, and from whom they acquired its character, justifies no such confidence as they have expressed respecting the author. In citing it, he observes, “ Cette règle se trouve dans le fol. 154. du ms. 2390 de la Biblioth. Royale, qui contient le commentaire sur Ptolémée, les tables manuelles, et divers opuscules de Theon d’Alexandrie. On peut donc *présumer* qu’elle est aussi *de ce géomètre*, ou au moins *de son école*.” Biot, ut supr. p. 303. By Petavius, the attention of the learned had been previously directed to the sub-

ject: vid. Doctr. Temp. lib. ii. p. 131. Var. Diss. V. iv. p. 46.

^h The era of Diocletian, or of the Martyrs, as it is usually termed, is dated from Ol. cclxv. 4. agreeing with A. D. 284. J. P. 4997. this being the year of the tyrant’s accession: Petav. Doctr. Temp. tom. ii. p. 402. ^c In the Chronicon of Eusebius, by Jerome, the accession of Diocletian is advanced two years, being referred to Ol. cclxvi. 2. coinciding with A. D. 286. J. P. 4999. vid. S. Hier. Op. tom. viii. p. 266. ed. Vallars. where this error of 2 years, in Eusebius’s computation, is corrected.

termed Sesostris. On any supposition but that of its being founded on Eusebius, it will be as difficult to explain how he fixes on the intermediate king's reign, and agrees with that chronologist, in terming him Menophis. It would besides appear, from the very nature of the computation, not merely as applying the proposed rule, for finding the rising of Sirius, exclusively to the era of Diocletian; but as dating the accession of the emperor two years below the true time; that Eusebius was positively followed, even to the adoption of his errors. For, the precept which the scholiast gives, respecting the deduction of the quadrienniums, proves it was requisite that particular attention should be paid to the bissextile; which his computation required to be lowered two years for the just application of his principlesⁱ. It

ⁱ In the rule of the scholiast, for determining the canicular epoch, 1705 years are directed to be deducted from the year 100 of Diocletian; which according to Eusebius's computation corresponded with J. P. 5098. On making the prescribed deduction of so many years; the canicular epoch will be found to fall in the year of J. P. 3393. which was a *bissextile year*, having the characters BA. ⊙ 5. ∪ 11. As the quadriennial cycle always ended with the intercalary day; from that day the following cycle necessarily commenced; conf. Censor. ut supr. cap. xviii. Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 47. The computation, being thus taken from the *beginning* of the cycle, could be attended with no difficulty. But when it was thrown back two

years, in accordance with the true epoch of the Diocletian era; the precept of the scholiast became indeterminate, as applied to the quadrienniums, and inefficient, as meant to determine the rising of Sirius. The accumulation of the quarter day, in the intermediate years of the cycle, rendered—the discovery of its beginning impracticable,—and the determination, of course, of the rising of the star, impossible: vid. Hera-pol. lib. i. cap. 5. As these difficulties disappear, on supposing that the era of Diocletian commenced in the year, erroneously assumed by Eusebius; the inference seems to be just that the scholiast was misled by his authority, and framed his rule accordingly.

is observable, in the last place, that the canicular epoch is positively found to fall in the 19th year of Menophis; when the palpable errors in the copies of Eusebius's *Chronicon* are removed, and the computation is made from the year in which the author has erroneously placed the accession of Diocletian^k.

Whatever may be the judgment which is formed of the preceding remarks; it is at least obvious that Eusebius, in doubling the length of Menophis's reign, extended it sufficiently to take in some portion of the kings' reigns, who immediately preceded and followed that monarch: kings who were equally claimants for the name of Sesostris, and from whose times, it must be added, the canicular epoch was generally dated. Ample space was thus secured, in a reign extended to 40 years, for verifying the computation, however loosely made, in referring it generally to the times of the intervening monarch. As referred, however, to the reign of a prince, who comes at best in a questionable shape, whose name is as much a subject of dispute as his age, it would seem to yield something less than doubtful support to any chronological system. Not that I at all believe, or feel disposed to admit, that there are points

^k Although the *Editio Princeps* and Vallarsius's edition of the *Chronicon* of Eusebius agree, in placing Diocletian's accession, Olymp. cclxvi. 2; they differ considerably in determining that of Menophis. On taking the mean year between them; the accession of this king occurred J. P. 3380: the canicular epoch, as computed from the first year of the former monarch, necessarily fell in the

14th of the latter. The computation of the scholiast, however formed, is consequently such as would be produced by the person who founded it on the *Tables* of Eusebius: which furnished him with authority, for the double error into which he was led, respecting the accession of Diocletian, and the occurrence of the canicular epoch in the reign of Menophis.

which remain to be decided ; or are likely to be controverted, by any one, who is not impelled by the love of disputation, or is attached to some opinion, to which he is already committed. Nor can I conceive that any ‘sharp-sighted inquirer,’ of however limited information or experience in such subjects, will have much need of research, before he have learned to appreciate thoroughly this “most noble fragment,” as one of its latest admirers has termed the scholium, imputed to Theon. From what the present investigation has served to develop, the following conclusion seems necessary,—That our obligations, for light on this obscure subject, are nearly equal,—to the monk, or scholiast, who informs us that the canicular epoch occurred in the times of Menophis,—and to the christian father who tells us that the Exodus took place in the reign of Amosis.

II. I have already adverted to the synchronism, between Inachus and Amosis, at the assumed date of the Exodus. Although it could not, as we formerly observed, have included the times of Moses, to which it was as absurdly, as arbitrarily extended by Apion ; it may be supposed, on that learned grammarian’s authority, that the Egyptian Chronology derived from its coincidence with the Greek, some confirmation.

It is not to be denied, that the succession of the kings of Argos from Inachus, and of Mycenæ from Perseus, is accurately disposed by Eusebius ; who followed Eratosthenes, by whom the principal dates in that part of the Greek Chronology, had been determined in reference to the fall of Troy, which was a cardinal epoch in antiquity. But of such coincidences, as have been cited in support of the

extended Chronology, it may be generally remarked, that they are not merely arbitrary, but founded on the most forced and fanciful analogies. In the particular case of the Greek and Egyptian annals, they seem to rest on no better foundation, than the similarity observed between some of the names in the succession of Argos, and the royal line of Thebes and Memphis. Among the principal instances, Apis and Io may be noticed; as names of a pure Egyptian origin, being derived from Hapi and Ooh as the sacred bull and the moon were termed, which were respectively emblems of Osiris and Isis. These names would necessarily pass from Egypt to Greece, with the earliest colonists; and would consequently form a link of connexion between the annals of both countries. But it could be only by an unwarrantable extension of such a principle, that it could be thence inferred, the imaginary persons so termed, or their supposed ancestors were consequently native Egyptians. The place assigned to Inachus, at the head of the Argive succession, and the part which he discharged as the chosen umpire, in the contest of Neptune and Juno for the dominion of the soil¹, would lead us to suppose, that his existence was no less fabulous than the legend in which he figured. As the comparison, however, which has been instituted between the Egyptian and Grecian Chronology, turns on the consideration of times, rather than of persons; I will not object that the question should be tried at this issue. The progress of time was marked with no less exactitude in Argos, than in Egypt, by the succession of the priestesses of Juno; among whom it would appear the legend of

¹ Boulang. ut supr. liv. i. § 3. p. 46.

Apis and Inachus as imported from the latter country had been transmitted. And, as I have already intimated, the ancient Argive Chronology, as digested by Eratosthenes, is entitled to that attention which it would not have otherwise merited.

But when submitted to this criterion, the extended Egyptian Chronology sustains its usual character of inconsistency and error. As the dates of the Argive kings, have been reduced after Eusebius, by Petavius, to years of the Julian Period, computed from the Fall of Troy; the accession of Inachus is referred to the year B. C. 1857, his demise to that B. C. 1807^m. In the last and most labored digest of the enlarged Chronology, the reign of Amos extended from the year B. C. 1680 to 1655ⁿ. The difference of about two centuries, between the respective computations of the same reign, will abundantly prove, how far this appeal to the testimony of the Greeks, in behalf of the Egyptian Chronology, sustains its credit.

It may be readily anticipated, from the success of this experiment, that no greater certainty is likely to be attained, by tracing a connexion between the reign of Amosis and the time of the Ogygian Deluge^o. On this coincidence, and that of the Fall of Troy and the epoch of the Olympiads, the last stress is laid by the great advocate of the extended Chronology, as confirming his favorite system, by the external testimony of the Grecian. As the great inundation, in which Greece and Thessaly were submerged, is referred, on the least questionable authority, to the reign of Inachus and his immediate

^m Petav. Doctr. Tem. tom. ii. p. 492.

ⁿ Böckh ut supr. p. 775. conf. p. 671.

^o Id. p. 565. 581. sq.

successors, Apis and Phoroneus^p; the anachronism is not removed, while the subject is involved in greater doubt and perplexity, by the new conditions introduced into the problem. The combined reigns of those kings, according to Eratosthenes, did not exceed 145 years^q: but according to the extended Chronology the interval of 200 years intervened between Inachus and Amosis, and of 270 between Inachus and Mipramuthosis^r.

The weight of authority clearly decides for placing the inundation in which Argolis was submerged, in the reign of the first king, Inachus. It is expressly referred to his times upon competent authority; if the term may be applied to such evidence as is adduced to attest it. And his pretensions seem to be decided, by the legend in which he is represented, as presiding at the contest, between Juno and Neptune, for the dominion of the country. They are but slightly versed in the religion of Egypt,—which cannot be denied a voice in deciding the present question,—who can long doubt, that this contest between the deities, must be resolved into an antagonism, between the watery or destructive principle, and the female or preservative principle; which was believed to be of such a nature as would effect a great inundation. By those who have inquired most carefully into the traditions of the Deluge, and the memorials of it, preserved in the rites and festivals of different nations; it is concluded, that there was but one great submersion of the earth, of which the memory was preserved by tradition^s. In this sentence, the deluge of Ogyges and Deucalion is necessarily in-

^p Id. *ibid*.

^q Petav. *ubi sup*.

^r Böckh *ut sup*. p. 775.

^s Boulang. *ut sup*. § 6. p. 54.

cluded, and identified as the same cataclysm. They have even carried the proof of an identity farther; and have resolved the name of Inachus into that of Noah, or Nuach, with the article prefixed to it^t. To whatever source we are enabled to trace the tradition of that great catastrophe, whether sacred or profane; it thus appears to be identified with the name of the first king of Argos. The immense interval between this king, and Amos, or Amosis, as computed in the chronology of the Argive monarchy by Eratosthenes, has been just noticed; the former objection to the supposition that they were synchronous necessarily applies, with full force, to any events assumed to have happened in their reigns. The age of Amos, consequently, can be only determined,—if dated from the inundation in which Greece was submerged,—by the admission of an anachronism of about 200 years. And if the computation be brought down to the reign of Miphramuthosis; it must be further extended to 270, as I have already observed.

On the synchronisms which have been traced between the cardinal epochs of the Greek chronology, —the Fall of Troy and the first Olympiad, as respectively coincident with the reigns of Thuoris and Petubastes^u,—I must defer my observations, until I have occasion to treat of the reigns of these monarchs. I doubt not that I shall prove, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced reader, that these ‘coincidences,’ are the pure fictions of the editor of Manetho; and are only established by an appeal from the testimony of Africanus to the judgment of Africanus himself. Where it is allowed, that this chro-

^t Boulang. ut supr. § 6. p. 54.

^u Böckh ut supr. p. 559.

nologist has indulged, *ad libitum*, in the unwarrantable licence of incorporating his comments with his author's text^v; the man, I will not say of ordinary sagacity, but of common sense, who, in support of his opinions could cite the explanatory clause of such a writer as a portion of the original work, cannot believe that he needs, or deserves refutation. Nor does the negative proof, derived from a want of similarity in the names of the monarchs deemed contemporaneous, go much farther in establishing a synchronism between their reigns or persons^w. Of the real grounds of that coincidence, which has no better evidence to support it, the person, who has only inspected a set of chronological tables, cannot long remain in ignorance; if he have but the good luck to have perceived that the course of time is generally marked in them, by the years of different eras, disposed in separate columns. As the dates of important events, like those which are under our review, are as naturally as they are readily transferred from one column to another; how preposterous is it to take that as a proof of the synchronism of two events, which is the accidental effect of their juxtaposition in a table! Every one who has been at the pains to estimate the worth of the testimony of the fathers, on chronological subjects; must be inobservant or obtuse, if he have failed to remark their easy compliance in adopting and transmitting an error, which has but the doubtful authority of a name to support it^x. We thus not unfrequently find a succession of those witnesses conspire in maintaining an error, which has originated in some random guess of Apion, to which Josephus has incau-

^v Id. p. 561. 588.^w Id. p. 565.^x Id. p. 444. 576. seq.

tiously given his sanction^y. Of the incompetency of those guides, and the false grounds of their confidence, in hazarding an opinion, a single instance may serve to convince the most sceptical. The expulsion of the Shepherds from Egypt, is brought down by Apion and Lysimachus about seven centuries, after the time of the Exodus; as it is referred by the one to Olymp. vii. 1. corresponding with the year B. C. 752; and by the other to the reign of Bocchoris, whose accession occurred B. C. 771^z. If the computation of the extended Chronology be received as authority, the anachronism of these learned chronologists amounts not merely to seven or eight hundred, but to about nine hundred years. On judges, who exhibit such proofs of incompetency, and their opinions, whatever be the numbers by which they are repeated, I must be pardoned for declining to waste an observation.

How much weight may be attached to coincidences, which rest merely on similarities, or even on dissimilarities of names, according to Dr. Böckh's whimsical preference^a, it would be equally a waste of time to calculate. I know, indeed, but the one sure ground on which a synchronism may be established,—the concurrence of distinct chronological characters. Such, I conceive, are discoverable in the time of Danaus's migration to Argolis; if not in the siege of Troy as concurrent with the reign of Rhampsinitus. Of the effect of these synchronisms in settling the present controversy, I must, however, defer stating my opinion, to the proper opportunity. And I am wholly deceived, or they will serve to

^y Böckh ut supr. p. 444. 576.
seq.

^z Cory Anc. Frag. p. 185.

^a Böckh ut supr. p. 565.

determine alike the true time of the eighteenth Dynasty, and to prove the superfluity of the twentieth; and by necessary consequence to establish the accuracy of the contracted Chronology to the subversion of the extended.

Of the latter system, I venture to pronounce in conclusion, that not a solitary coincidence, with any external system of Chronology, has been advanced, in its support, from which it derives the smallest confirmation. That it is an *ens sui generis* will, indeed, appear, on its being compared with any other system, in which the least attention has been paid to the principles which govern theoretical or practical science. Its claims to this character it sustains, not merely in its departure from all precedent, but its gratuitous rejection of established dates, not merely by years or centuries, but by thousands and ten thousands. It may be, in a word, positively affirmed of it, that its singularity of character is maintained to the enormous and unprecedented degree, that while no single reign of the genuine Egyptian Chronology is assigned its proper date; there is no variety of error, within the limits of several thousand years, of which the dates, affixed in it to particular reigns, do not afford an exemplification.

SECT. V.

The extended system of Chronology proved to be equally irreconcilable with the science, in theory and practice.

IN conceiving the Egyptian Chronology constructed on a great lunisolar period, we acquire a direct solution of the difficulty arising from the inordinate antiquity to which its earliest epoch is carried. The equation of the revolutions of the luminaries, which it was the object of that cycle to effect, could not be accomplished in a shorter period than was adopted^a. A clue is equally acquired to the anomaly, in which lunations are employed, in the measurement of time, antecedently to the adoption of the solar revolutions. On the other hand, when the lunar element is rejected from the theory of the Cycle, by which the Chronology was arranged; the solar, which remains, tends but to involve it in obscurity and contradiction. On supposing a series of canicular periods strung together, to which its dates are accommodated, the sidereal element which is therein compounded with the solar, demonstrates its unfitness for the measurement of a prolonged period. In its extension to a remote age, it exhibits that theoretical imperfection, which is irreconcilable with the notion of its practicable application. The system of Chronology, consequently, which, like the extended, derives its pretensions to a high antiquity, from its accommodation to such a scale, betrays, in the mere alliance, the strongest marks of a spurious origin.

^a Vid. Introd. supr. p. 6.

I have already had occasion to describe the Canicular and Heliacal Cycles, and to trace the difference between them when protracted to immense periods^b. In short intervals the difference was overlooked and neglected; not having been perceptible to the ancients, from their want of nicer instruments, and more minute observations. But in periods protracted to twenty or thirty cycles, it increases to a degree which is productive of enormous errors. An inconsistency thus arises between the theory of those cycles and its application, which is fatal to the supposition of their having been really employed, not merely for the time pretended, but for any extended period. As they thus appear, on the internal evidence, to be merely rude calculations, proleptically made, they involve the Chronology, which they profess to sustain, in their disrepute, and prove it to be fictitious and visionary.

I. The great characteristic in the theory of the Great Year, as devised by the Egyptians, was the rise and decrease of the Nile; with which the heliacal rising of Sirius had but an accidental and temporary association^c. The changes of the river invariably followed the vicissitudes of the tropical year; as depending on the meteorologic changes produced, on the atmosphere, by the sun in changing his declination. The operation of this cause, which produced the periodical winds, and occasioned the accumulation of the clouds, in the country where the Nile took its rise, produced a regular effect upon its waters. From the earliest times, it was observed, as at the present day, that it began to rise at the summer solstice, and retired from its channel at the

^b Vid. *ibid.* p. 19.

^c Bainbr. *Canic. cap. iv.* p. 29.

winter, having attained its greatest elevation at the autumnal equinox^d.

The period was, on the contrary, definite, during which the rising of Sirius was associated with these phenomena: although they were conceived to be, not merely connected, but dependent on each other. For, physical causes having been imperfectly investigated, and little understood, in those rude ages; a secret and powerful influence was consequently ascribed to sidereal. Such more eminently was the case in the period which is properly distinguishable, in the Egyptian annals, as the chronological; to which, in fact, the reduced system is properly confined, as opposed to the inordinate claims of the extended. But the association is observed to fail altogether, as we ascend, by antecedent cycles, to remote epochs. On passing the limits of the contracted Chronology, we reach times, in which the rise and fall of the Nile were unaccompanied with the appearance of Sirius. And by this marked difference the two systems are distinguished, in such a manner, as to establish the claims of the one and to subvert the pretensions of the other.

In order to the establishment of these points, it may be generally observed, that, by the secular precession of the equinoxes, the longitude of the stars is increased, and that of Sirius consequently affected. The sun, on its entrance into the different seasons, can be of course attended with the same stars, only for a definite period. It therefore results, from the position of Sirius with regard to the constellation

^d Choix des Lett. Edif. tom. vi. 22. d. p. 32. al. 23. a. Am. Mar-
p. 126. 121. conf. Herod. lib. ii. cel. lib. xxii. cap. 15.
cap. 19. Diod. lib. i. p. 32. al.

Leo; that, only in the period, during which this constellation was traversed by the sun, could this luminary be preceded by the morning rising of Sirius, as was assumed in the canicular theory. By the increase of the precession, at the rate of 1 degree in 72 years, the equinoctial point was gradually removed from the vicinity of the star; in entering which he renewed the round of the seasons, on the vicissitudes of which the changes of the Nile invariably depended.

The period, for which these phenomena could have concurred, is necessarily limited to that in which the equinox could have taken place when the sun was in Leo^e. And this period is not merely determined, but its extreme limits are defined by astronomers. In assigning it an interval of two great heliacal years, they mark, as its boundaries, the year B. C. 2782 and A. D. 139; within which period, they declare the sun, at the heliacal rising of Sirius, was always in that constellation^f. It can be hardly necessary to add, that in moving, at the rate of 1° in 72 years, he must have passed through 30°, or an entire sign, in 2160: and, of course, at the end of that time, have passed from Leo into Cancer. Beyond these limits of time and place, the canicular theory could have had, of course, no practical existence.

^e Biot ut supr. p. 236. conf. Petav. Auct. Diss. ut supr. lib. ii. cap. 11. p. 55. infr. n. ^f.

^f Biot, ib. "Il est très aisé de démontre que, depuis 2782 ans avant l'ère chrétienne jusqu'à 139 ans après cette ère, et l'on pourrait encore étendre plus loin ces

limites, le soleil, lors du lever héliaque de Syrius en Egypte, s'est toujours trouvé, soit dans le Cancer, si l'on veut le rapporter aux signes mobiles, soit dans le Léon, si l'on veut considérer son lieu réel parmi les constellations."

When tried by this test, the pretensions of the contracted and extended Chronology may be easily estimated.

If but a glance is directed to the Canon, prefixed to this discussion^g, it will be obvious that the limits assigned to the great canicular year, B. C. 2782 and A. D. 139, could not have been more favorably fixed, for the establishment of its main epochs, than we observe to be the case in the preceding observations. Its highest epoch accords, to a year, with the accession of Amon, B. C. 2783^h: and previously to that date, it appears on competent authority, and is uniformly maintained throughout this discussion, the course of time was measured by different cycles from the canicular. From the commencement to the close of the strict chronology, that cycle was capable of a practical application. In the intermediate point, B. C. 1325, at an equal distance from the two extremes B. C. 2782 and A. D. 139: it made its conversion, by closing one revolution and commencing another, at the remarkable crisis, when the new year's day concurred with the rising of the Nile and the morning appearance of Siriusⁱ.

The objection, that these remarks have no application to the extended Chronology, conveys but a small portion of the reproach to which it is liable. For the inordinate period of 27,740 years, to which it is carried above the preceding epoch, B. C. 2782^k, it has not the most remote connexion with the cycle, from which it is termed, and by which it is measured. Nor have we to ascend far above the

^g Vid. Chr. Can. supr.

p. 681. 683.

^h Ib. B. C. 2783.

^k Böckh ut supr. p. 769. conf.

ⁱ Des-Vignol. ut supr. tom. ii.

3 Append. infr.

epoch, to which the canicular period is thus carried back, to arrive at a time when it has as little connexion with the changes of the Nile and vicissitudes of the seasons, as with the appearance of the dog-star. How widely these phenomena must have occurred from each other, which are theoretically assumed to have concurred, may be shown by the roughest calculation.

The difference between the Julian or equated year, to which the Great Year was adapted, and the tropical year, which effected the annual change in the Nile and the seasons, may be taken at the rate allowed in the Gregorian calendar. As computed at 3 days' excess in 400 years, it amounts to 11, in one canicular cycle¹. I formerly observed, that in that period, a difference of 9 days intervenes between the new year's day and the rising of Sirius. On assuming the year B. C. 1322, as a crisis, at which all the elements of the cycle concurred; on ascending 3 cycles, from that date we arrive at the historical epoch, B. C. 5702: and on ascending 20 cycles, at the fabulous epoch, B. C. 30,522; as they are respectively fixed in the extended Chronology^m. On July 20th, marked for the new-year's day, at the later epoch; the heliacal rising of Sirius must have been distant 27 days, and the increase of the Nile about 33. But on the same day of the year, at the earlier epoch, the former distance must have extended to 90 days, and the latter to 110: although theoretically assumed to be concurrent. On regarding, in the distribution of its proportions, the interminable period of nearly 21 cycles, to which the extended Chronology is protracted, together with its

¹ Trans. ubi supr. p. 303. et n.⁶⁰.

^m Böckh ut supr. p. 769. 770.

interminable name; I must confess, that more gravity, than usually falls to the lot of the English, or than I can command, would be necessary to restrain me from giving vent to my risible feelings.

That the preceding observations are not objectionable,—as overstrained, or deduced from too subtle principles,—a simple exemplification will serve to establish, while it marks the difference between the contracted and extended Chronology. That the former could not have ranged, in the opinion of the informed natives, above the supposed era of Amon, may be inferred from an opinion, which, according to Diodorus, was prevalent among the Egyptians. A tradition was current among that people, that in the reign of Osiris,—which might, in the popular sense, be supposed to include that age,—their country had been submerged by an inundation of the Nile, at the time of the rising of Siriusⁿ. And the historian felt inclined to credit the tradition, from his own experience of the phenomena which attended the periodical increase of the river. On taking the limits, within which we are assured, its rising could have been attended with that of the dog-star; the account will better accord with the reign of Amon than Osiris, who were liable to be confounded. If the tradition be deemed worthy of attention, the reign of the latter divinity must be brought down, from the date assigned it not merely in the enlarged but in the reduced chronology; to render it conformable to the phenomena; and a reduction will be consequently effected, by which the latter chronology will be still farther contracted. But by no forced exposition can it be verified in the

ⁿ Diodor. lib. i. p. 16. al. 11. c.

extended; in which that reign is removed to the year B. C. 29,329°. For this year, it cannot be necessary to recapitulate, preceded the possibility of such a concurrence of the phenomena, as might have met in the contracted system, not merely by hundreds of years but by thousands. How little, in fact, the Egyptians were disposed to assign such inordinate antiquity to their country, is apparent from the fact of their connecting the nativity of the world, and its attendants, the sun and moon, with the rising of Sirius^p. As dated in the extended Chronology, from July 20th, B. C. 30,522^q; I need hardly repeat, it could not have been attended with any such phenomenon, even in the vague conception of the least practised computer.

II. Could these glaring errors in the theory of the extended Chronology be overlooked; in its practical application, it would be exposed to equally fatal objections. On inspecting the Canon, subjoined by its constructor to his work, and which is added in the Appendix; every thing, it must be allowed, appears perfectly compact and well adjusted. The epochs appear to be skilfully placed, and the intervals as skilfully distributed. The fabulous time,—which as exclusively complete, was alone capable of being rounded, in a period,—is accordingly comprised within the exact limits of 17 cycles; and both it and the historical have their epochs coincident, to the very day, with that of the canicular, and are accordingly dated July 20th^r. The latter time is again distributed into four cycles, the last of which

° Böckh ubi supr.

n. 55.

^p Porph. de Antr. Nymph. p.

^q Böckh, ut supr. p. 769.

123. conf. Trans. ut supr. p. 302.

^r Id. ibid. 769. 770.

is incomplete; and has the epoch of the 4th placed, with apparent accuracy, in the 5th year of Sethos^s, who is generally identified with Sesostris; for in his reign it is supposed to have made its conversion^t.

But much of this apparent inaccuracy is the effect of management, in which Africanus set the first unworthy example. The fabulous time is reduced to the necessary dimensions, by an unwarrantable correction of the text of Eusebius, on whose chronology it is professedly founded. Instead of the 24925 periods, computed by that chronologist^u, and positively reduced by him to lunations; his numbers are changed to 24837^v, and understood as years, to complete the requisite number of 17 cycles. Let even this correction be allowed, as just and necessary; if the single reign of Amos, amounting to 25 years, which has been suppressed on the authority of Africanus^w, be restored; the entire superstructure of the Chronology will be thrown out of square, and the assumed epochs of the fabulous and historical periods consequently antedated 25 years to the canicular; and a correspondent change of 6 days will be produced in the neomenia.

When we descend to a still closer scrutiny of this unwieldy Chronology, and examine that part of it to which the canicular period actually belongs; it betrays equal marks of weakness and error. If any known epoch, as the accession of Camybses, B. C. 529, in Dynasty XXVIIIth, be assumed as a fulcrum; by a computation, founded on it, the very slender support, which the system derives, from the

^s Böckh ut supr. p. 775.

^t Trans. ut supr. p. 334.

^u Böckh ut supr. p. 468.

^v Id. ibid. p. 478.

^w Id. ib. p. 775. conf. p. 671.

authority of Africanus, in bringing the canicular epoch within the reign of Sethos, may be established to a demonstration.

If his authority,—which is followed, in the deposition of the first reign of the XVIIIth Dynasty^x,—be regarded, and Rameses the Great restored to his place in the XIXth; the reign of Sethos will be thrown back 60 years, and will consequently extend from the year B. C. 1386 to 1335. The canicular epoch will be consequently transferred to the 14th year of his successor; instead of occurring in the reign of either of the kings, named Rameses, who are identified with Sesostris. We may, however, adopt a juster principle of distribution; and, retaining those kings in the places assigned them respectively in the extended Chronology, may follow Eratosthenes in discarding the XXth Dynasty from the royal succession^y; for retaining which no better reason is assigned than its contributing to prove the synchronism between the Fall of Troy and the reign of Thuoris^z, of which more hereafter. On making the necessary deduction of 135 years, which that Dynasty is declared to have reigned^a, from the date of the earlier monarch's accession, it will be lowered to the year B. C. 1276. The canicular epoch, as having occurred in the year B. C. 1322, will thus precede his reign 46 years; and consequently that of the later monarch, his successor, as much as 131 years. Whether therefore, Africanus be followed, or deserted, on any consistent principle; it is plain, that the canicular epoch could not have fallen within

^x Id. loc. cit.

^z Conf. supr. p. 98. n. ^u.

^y Trans. ut supr. p. 330.

^a Böckh ut supr. p. 776.

the reign of either of the kings, who are identified with Sesostris: and that he is only to be brought within it, by the most dexterous management.

I can hardly conceive an objection, of a similar species at least, which could be found equally fatal to the pretensions of the Chronology, that would sustain its credit by the test of synchronism, or coincidence. For perhaps no fact of a like antiquity stands equally attested by records and monuments, as that the conversion of the canicular year took place in the reign of some monarch, who bore that name. And however his identity may be disputed, if he is not found in one of the two kings, who bore the name of Rameses, and the surname of Meiamon; whose palaces at Luxore and Medinet Abu, perpetuate the memory of their titles and victories; it will be in vain to search for him among the sovereigns, or in the annals, of Egypt.

III. On this last subject, I may be allowed to dwell still longer, and with somewhat more particularity; as the criterion to which I have thus subjected the extended Chronology, has been proposed by me, as a *crucial instance*, by which rival schemes of Chronology may be tested ^b; and as I have expressed my willingness, that by it also my own system should be tried. When the doubts, to which it has given rise are cleared up; it will furnish a scale, by which, or I am much mistaken, many points of equal nicety and importance in the present discussion may be satisfactorily adjusted.

1. The difficulty of deciding to which of the two kings, termed Rameses Meiamon on the monuments,

^b Trans. ut supr. p. 335.

the name of Sesostris properly applies, has exercised the ingenuity of the antiquary and hierogrammatist^c. The countries which were overrun by both monarchs were nearly the same; though, from the natural progress of things, the conquests of the last were the most extensive. His warlike armaments having likewise included a navy^d; by such his expeditions were exclusively distinguished; as indeed we learn from a remark of Manetho^e. The monuments, on which he commemorated his conquests, and inscribed his name, clearly identify him as Sethosis^f; some remains of which are preserved at Beyrout in Palestine, and Sarbout el Kadem in Arabia Petræa. That Diodorus, under the latter name, identified Sesostris, admits of no doubt; and that Herodotus alludes to his conquests, under his more familiar name, is highly probable; though he seems to confound him with his rival and predecessor, whom Josephus terms Armesses Meiamon. Into this error, Herodotus seems to have been led by another; he has thus contributed to involve a subject, already perplexed, in greater doubt and confusion. Having mistaken Sethos for Sabacho, the adversary of Senacharib, who bore that name^g; he appears to have overlooked him altogether in the monarchical succession, and transferred his honors to his grandfather, the king who was first termed Rameses Meiamon. By the authority of Herodotus, not only Africanus but Diodorus was misled. On no better ground the

^c Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i. p. 301. seq.

^d Id. ibid. p. 304. cf. Diodor. lib. i. p. 50. al. 35. c. p. 52. al. 37. a.

^e Joseph. contr. Ap. p. 1041. c. f.

^f Birch, Galler. ut supr. P. II. p. 71.

^g Herod. lib. ii. cap. 141.

latter denies, that, for seven reigns preceding his times, any thing deserving of note had been achieved^b: a declaration which cannot be reconciled, with the bass-reliefs at Beit-walli, which bear unquestionable evidence of the military prowess of the elder Ramesesⁱ, in whom Herodotus consequently seems to have identified Sesostris.

In the perplexity thus introduced into the subject; a rival has been raised up to these monarchs, in Osartisen I, by Africanus^k; for whose error some color has been found, in the early place assigned by Herodotus, in his dislocated chronology, to Sesostris. In introducing him, in his notice of the Egyptian kings, before Cheops and Cephren^l; he readily induced the chronologist to believe him very ancient; who finding no name, in Manetho's list of monarchs, nearer to Sesostris, in sound, than Osartisen, in Dynasty XII.—as we find it written on the monuments,—converted it, by a slight alteration, into that of the disputed monarch. To leave no doubt of his identity, he likewise added, in his list of the Dynasties, the description of the monarch's conquests, which he appears to have transcribed literally from Herodotus^m. The historian has, however, left ample ground for correcting the chronologist's mistake: in making Sesostris subsequent to Mœris, who dug the lake, called after his nameⁿ; he has thus dispelled the notion of his high antiquity, and assigned him his proper place in the XVIIIth Dynasty.

^b Diodor. lib. ii. p. 48. al. 34. a.

ⁱ Birch, ut supr. p. 92.

^k Sync. ut supr. p. 59.

^l Herod. ut infr.

^m Syncel. ut supr. p. 59. conf.

Herod. lib. ii. cap. 102.

ⁿ Id. cap. 101. 102.

A qualification is, however, added in the text of Africanus, to meet this difficulty; by which his error seems to be more hopelessly established. To justify the identification of Rameses, in his predecessor Osartisen, a hint is thrown out that he was an impersonation of Osiris^o: on which principle, it is clear, any given king might be identified with any other. That this is the true meaning of the text clearly appears from the manner in which it has been corrupted; some trace of the original reading being found in the transcription of Eusebius. On rejecting the interpolations which render the passage nugatory or nonsensical, the account derives its entire probability, from the legend of Osiris's expedition; as it concludes with asserting that "the Egyptians believed Sesostris was Osiris." I am inclined, however, to suspect, that the description in Africanus was originally intended for Sesochris of Dynasty II, of whom it is affirmed, with equal probability, that "his height was five cubits, and his breadth three^p:" the authority for which was doubtless found, in the gigantic stature, ascribed to Rameses the great, in the bass-reliefs which comme-

^o The description given by Africanus of the conquests of Sesostris, closes with the following words; *ὅς ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὀσίριν πρῶτον νομισθῆναι*, which is given, with a slight variation, in Eusebius; *ὅς καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων μετὰ Ὀσίριν νομισθῆναι*. Instead of inserting *πρῶτον*, in the latter text, with Goar; if we reject *μετὰ*, it will probably give us the true reading. The harshness of the phrase, in which Se-

sostris was deemed Osiris, in consequence of the similarity of their acts, easily led to its corruption. Cf. Diod. lib. i. p. 15. al. 10. c. p. 50. al. 35. b. p. 53. al. 37. b. The expression, however, agreed perfectly with the Egyptian modes of thinking, from the times of Rameses to those of Ptolemy Epiphanes: conf. Drumann Untersuch. ut supr. p. 53.

^p Syncel. ut supr. p. 36. a.

morate his victories. As the affinity of the name Sesostris is greater to Sesochris than to Osartisen; and the two former princes agree as much, as the two latter differ, in the length assigned to their reign; I am, therefore, induced to conclude that the first of them, who was supposed an incarnation of Osiris, and acquired the name of Sesostris, should be sought rather in the II^d than the XIIth Dynasty. When the nature of the evidence, on which the pretensions of either rests is duly estimated, together with the fact that no monument has been discovered of the achievements of Osartisen; little hesitation can be felt, in rejecting the claim, advanced for considering him the genuine Sesostris, as worthy of no more credit than the legend of Osiris' conquests of the world. On those which have been advanced for Menophis, who is better known under the name of Menophres, I have elsewhere delivered my opinion.

Of the forementioned kings, named Rameses Meiamon, between whom the question lies, it is not easy, if indeed possible, to determine which is better entitled to the name and reputation of Sesostris. Herodotus appears to have declared for the earlier, while Diodorus has positively decided for the later. Although the preponderance of the evidence is clearly in favor of the latter; the balance may be supposed to be turned in favor of the former, by the concurring judgment of Champollion and Rosellini, by whom he is adopted^q.

On considering the subject in all its bearings, it

^q Champol. Lett. écr. d'Egypt. 208. Rosellin. ut supr. tom. ii.
p. 362. comp. lett. au Duc de p. 258.
Blacas. Trans. ut supr. vol. i. p.

appears to me that, in speaking of the conversion of the Great Year as having taken place in the reign of Sesostris^r, the Romans meant the vulgar or heliacal cycle, and the first monarch to whom the name was applicable. Were this assumption admitted, the criterion would decide in favor of the reduced Chronology; and whether the canicular epoch were placed in the year B. C. 1325 or 1323, it would fall within the reign of the first monarch^s, whose Asiatic conquests justify his claims to the disputed title^t. If it be, on the other hand, supposed, that the name Sesostris should be conceded to the later monarch, who carried his arms and extended his conquests more widely; the decision would be in favor of the extended Chronology: in which, the epoch has been brought within the reign of this monarch, though it appears to me by address and management. To neither system, consequently, can it be objected, that it wants this proof of its correctness.

This negative proof is, in truth, the whole that can be effected by this test: the undecided pretensions of the two Rameses to the name of Sesostris, depriving it of all claims to a chronological criterion. As the reigns of those monarchs—inclusive of the intermediate reign of Menophis—extended to 136 years; until those doubts are cleared up, it can determine no date, within an interval short of that immense period. It may thus annul the pretensions of any chronological system, though it fail to establish its opposite; unless where the opposed systems are capable of being proved contradictory.

^r Tacit. Annal. vi. cap. 28.

^t Birch, Galler. ut supr. p. 92.

^s Trans. ut supr. p. 334. 335.

seq.

2. The precise year in which the canicular epoch occurred, has given rise to a like contest, which, it may be expedient to determine, as liable to affect some of the conclusions in the ensuing discussion. The difference between the dates which it is assigned, not amounting to more than two years, it may be regarded as insignificant^u; but where strict accuracy is sought, the proportions of the scale employed in the measurement of doubtful intervals should be precisely determined.

The epoch of the canicular cycle was referred to the year B. C. 1323 by Bainbridge, on the express testimony of Censorinus^v. The conversion of the period, having been placed by this writer in the Consulate of Ulpian and Brutian, A. D. 139: its epoch necessarily fell in that year, in which it was accordingly placed by that astronomer who first inquired into the theory of the cycle^w. On regarding the position of the bissextile year, to which the neomenia of the erratic year was accommodated, most probably in the course of the cycle, and certainly at the close of it; the learned Dodwell, who had curiously investigated such subjects, saw the necessity of throwing it back to the year B. C. 1325^x. While the former epoch has been adopted by Freret, Ideler, Biot^y and others, the latter has been espoused, after Dodwell, by Des-Vignolles^z, who has strengthened the opinion of that learned chronologist by some additional reasons. By the reformation of the Egyptian Calendar, in which the vague year was

^u Böckh ut supr. p. 775.

^v Canic. cap. 4. p. 29, Trans. ut supr. p. 334.

^w Censor. ut supr. cap. 18.

^x Diss. Cypr. Append. § 17.

^y Bainbr. ubi supr. Ideler Handb. der Chron. bd. 2. s. 594. Biot, Recherch. ut supr.

^z Chron. ut supr. p. 571.

superseded by the fixed, generally known as the Alexandrine^a, the principles of Dodwell appear to be confirmed, and his correction of Censorinus satisfactorily established. A very cursory review of the chronological characters of the reformed era, which is dated from Aug. 29. B. C. 25^b, will serve to decide this controversy; the revival of which is as vain as it is injudicious.

In reducing the erratic year to the fixed, on the establishment of the Alexandrine era, there is no room for doubt that respect was necessarily had to the place of the bissextile^c. However Censorinus might have forgotten his own principles; such, he admits, was the established practice; and as much is allowed, in effect, in the scholium, ascribed to Theon. Previously to the neomenia's falling on Aug. 29th, it had adhered to Aug. 30th for the four years preceding^d. The bissextile day, added to the fixed year, which transferred the neomenia to the following day in the erratic, had originated from the addition of the quarter of a day to each intervening year; which amounted, of course, but to two quarters, at the end of the second year, and but to three at the expiration of the third, until, when increased to a day, it was added to the year, on the completion of the quadriennial cycle^e. This is expressly acknowledged by Censorinus. He not only declares that the cycle was quadriennial, as well as heliacal or canicular; but he thus explains how it became

^a Vid. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. x. cap. 73.

^b Id. ibid. p. 158. 159.

^c Conf. supr. p. 92. n. ⁱ. Petav. ut supr. p. 159.

^d Petav. ibid. conf. lib. ix. cap. 57. 58. lib. vii. cap. 13. lib. x. cap. 73. p. 158.

^e Hor. Apol. loc. cit. supr. p. 92. n. ⁱ.

so;—" *itaque quadriennium eo fit, ut anno 1461 ad idem revolvatur principium*^f." As he here plainly alludes to the vague cycle, which contained 1461 erratic years, as distinguished from the definite cycle, which consisted of 1460 intercalated: he intimates how it was limited, and became rounded into a period. Had not the quadriennial cycle been observed, and the full complement of these lesser cycles been retained; which was only to be effected by intercalating every fourth year in succession; the great cycle could not have practically existed, while every principle of its theory would be deserted.

So stringent was this rule, which not only required the fourth year, but every fourth year, and none but the fourth, to be intercalated; that, in the successive reformations of the Calendar, from the Julian to the Gregorian, it has been found impossible to violate it, without defeating the object proposed by the reformer. Through the inveteracy of custom, the intercalary day has thus maintained its place, not merely in the year, but in the month, which it occupied under Cæsar, and long previously under Nabonasar^g. No inference is therefore more false or short-sighted, than that the reformers of the Calendar were at liberty to desert the established order of bissextiles, and intercalate any year chosen at their pleasure. The order of the Olympiads among the Greeks, and Lustra among the Romans, would be sufficient to convince us, had we no other proof of the fact, that the Egyptian practice was ever followed, as far as circumstances permitted.

^f Censorin. loc. cit.

^g Macrob. Sat. lib. i. cap. 14.
Lyd. de mens. iii. 4. p. 86. ed.

Röther. conf. Petav. ut supr.
tom. i. p. 170. h. 171. h. cf. p.
376. c. tom. ii. p. 158. e.

The disposition of the Alexandrine era serves at once to illustrate these principles, and prove them to have been inviolable in the observation. It exhibits two anomalies, of which they directly suggest the cause, and which cannot be apparently traced to any other. As intended to commemorate the subjugation of Egypt to the arms of Augustus, by his victory at Actium, B. C. 30^h, it was termed the *Æra Augustorum Deorum*, and had its first month termed *Augustus*ⁱ, after the precedent of the preceding month, called *Julius* from Cæsar. But the accommodation of the civil or erratic to the secret or bissextile year, required the epoch to be deferred five years: and having its neomenia consequently dated from Aug. 29 B. C. 25, it was thus strictly adapted to the canicular era^k. Had the order of the intercalary cycle been alone regarded; it need not have been deferred beyond the following year B. C. 29, which was the next bissextile, and was signalised by Augustus's triumphal entry into Rome, for the conquest of Egypt^l. But a double end was attained, in its protraction four years beyond this remarkable epoch; it took its commencement from the beginning of the bissextile or small canicular cycle; and from the close of the year 1300 of the great heliacal cycle. In the latter coincidence Des-Vignolles^m saw sufficient ground for concurring with Dodwell, in placing the earlier epoch of B. C. 1325; in preference to that of 1323 which Bainbridge had adopted from Censorinus: nor need

^h Id. *ibid.*

conf. p. 368.

ⁱ Id. *ibid.*^m Des-Vignol. ut *supr.* p. 709.^k Id. *ibid.* p. 158. b. cf. p. 368.

conf. p. 705. sq.

^l Id. *ibid.* p. 158. g. p. 159. f.

many more words be added here, in justification of his predilection.

It admits not of a doubt, that the Alexandrine era commenced on Aug. 29th B. C. 25, directly following the intercalationⁿ; which involves a proof of what has been just established, that the order of the intercalary cycle was never violated. As the great canicular year always began from, and ended in, an intercalation^o; it is equally certain, that it could not have commenced in the year B. C. 1323, nor ended A. D. 139, for neither of those years admitted of such intercalation. As the order of the bissextiles was, at all times, necessarily perpetuated in the current cycle; when the canicular epoch was computed proleptically, from any year, as that chosen by Censorinus; being limited to the year succeeding the intercalation, it necessarily fell in the first year, and consequently in that chosen by Dodwell, B. C. 1325. The controversy, on the subject of the proper epoch, therefore, appears to be not merely decided; but by the application of the cyclical criterion,—by which, I have ventured to believe, the differences of chronologists may be determined.

In advancing the canicular epoch two years, as we observe in Censorinus, respect was doubtless paid to the year of Antoninus's accession to power; for reasons which, I venture to pronounce, had no graver foundation than may be discovered in the fable of the phenix. The transition, from the true epoch, to the opening of this favorite emperor's reign was easily made, as the erratic year had long

ⁿ Petav. ut supr. p. 158. c. 368.

^o Censorin. ut supr. p. 120. conf. Petav. ut supr. p. 160.

ceased to be in civil use, even in Egypt. It has been therefore decided, not less superficially than dogmatically, that the year, fixed on by Censorinus, has been taken on historical authority, not obtained by computation. However disposed I may be to dispute the conclusion, I shall not contest the principle: the year, selected on such authority, being merely that of Antoninus's accession to power, with which the canicular epoch was most *scientifically* connected by the period assigned to the return of the phenix ^P.

On taking a brief retrospect of the ground, over which we have thus passed; it seems not over hardy to assert, that the extended Chronology of the Egyptians, as compiled by Africanus, and digested by G. Böckh, is as baseless as it is monstrous and unwieldy. Its first devisers, the priests, seem to have had no other object in view but to exalt their pretensions to antiquity; which they effected by systematic exaggeration. Every advantage was accordingly taken of the acknowledged ambiguity of the terms, expressing the periodical revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Years were accordingly substituted for months, in computing the earlier ages,

^P The application, in flattery, of the fiction to Tiberius and Caligula, as noticed by Tacitus, would sufficiently justify the inference that it was extended to Antoninus, whose title to the compliment could not be questioned. So much is implied, in the association of the year of the conversion of the Egyptian cycle with the time of his accession, by Censorinus. That great cycle, it ad-

mits of no dispute, was imaged under the fable of the expected returns of the phenix, in the period which it circumscribed, according to Tacitus: and Antoninus, as addicted to the philosophy of the Stoics, was an avowed convert to the dogma of the great mundane restitution, which it imaged: conf. Marc. Antonin. lib. xi. cap. 1.

by which they were inordinately extended. But so clumsy has been the artifice, by which they hoped to effect their purpose, that it has served, in its application, to expose the imposition. When they pretended to establish a remote epoch, by its connexion with some natural phenomenon; the physical impossibility of the conjuncture proves the epoch, not less than the phenomenon, to be purely a fiction. By every failure of this kind, the extended Chronology not only sinks in reputation; but the principle is established, on which it is declared to be systematically corrupted. Nor is the proof less efficacious in establishing the contracted than subverting the extended; as every argument which makes against the one must necessarily make in favor of the other. In a word, no more is necessary to establish the decision of one of the most learned persons of antiquity, who devoted his attention to chronology in general, and to the Egyptian in particular; whose decision, if admitted, leaves no further room for controversy on the present question. For it is declared by Eusebius, that “all the years which the Egyptians allowed to the Gods, Demigods and Manes, were lunar:” he had declared these years amounted but to thirty days each, in a passage directly preceding⁹.

⁹ Euseb. Chron. Arm. p. 200.

PART II.

THE THEORY OF THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY DEVELOPED AND PRACTICALLY APPLIED.

SECT. I.

Theory of the Egyptian Chronology developed, and established by the positive testimony of the Ancients.

IT must be concluded, from the evidence which has been produced in the preceding section; that no idea, however imperfect, can be attained of the Egyptian Chronology, from any collection of the dynasties like that of Africanus, when supposed to constitute an uninterrupted succession. Had the list of them, which that chronologist has copied from Manetho, remained uncorrupted, or the Hieratical Canon continued unmutilated and connected^a; they could afford no chart for our direction, until some test were ascertained, by which the succession of supreme rulers might be distinguished from the contemporary governors, who were alike disposed in dynasties. That some clue of this kind was annexed to such collections, as were compiled by different hands, and in separate places, appears from their remains, which have reached us. In the fragments of the Turin Papyrus, the evidence is express, that it

^a Lepsius, Ausw. der wicht. Urkund. taf. iii. sq.

contained some summary^b, which might be made available for that purpose; by which the kings, who succeeded to the throne, might be distinguished from the viceroys, who were merely vested with subordinate authority. Indexes of this kind have reached us, which have been respectively ascribed to Manetho, Castor Rhodius, and Eusebius. From the last edition of this writer's Chronicle by St. Jerome^c, it might be inferred, had we no higher evidence on the subject, that such compilations were usually preceded by a succinct Canon; which in assigning the ostentatious record of royal names, a chronological use, supplied a graduated scale by which the course of time might be measured.

Of the Canons which have been framed with this object, and prefixed to compilations of the Dynasties, that which has been received by the learned under the title of 'the Ancient Chronicle^d,' is decidedly the best, as it has the reputation of being the earliest. Among its principal recommendations is its practical utility; in enabling us to determine the cardinal epochs of the Egyptian Chronology; and until these landmarks are ascertained, the error is without a limit to which the essayist is exposed, who pretends to digest it. The objections by which it has been assailed I have disposed of in the proper place; it will suffice, at present, to mention in commendation of this valuable document, the facilities which it affords, in removing those difficulties which have been pronounced insuperable, and which have proved such to those who blindly or perversely dis-

^b Birch, Obs. on the Hier. Can. Vallars.

p. 4.

^d Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit. vol.

^c S. Hier. Op. Præf. tom. viii. iii. p. 290. sq.

regard it. This object it has served to attain, by its distribution of the Chronology into its main divisions, and its adaptation of it to a scale, by which its leading epochs may be determined^e. In founding those divisions on the great lunisolar cycle, of which I formerly gave a description^f; it enables us not only to distinguish between the fabulous and the historical era, but to determine their respective epochs, thus defining those boundaries, within which no room remains for frequent, or indeed important errors.

In ascribing this merit to 'the Ancient Chronicle,' it may be necessary further to premise, that by two defects which, on the first view, it exhibits; the usefulness which is here assigned to it, has been in some measure precluded. In its distribution of the earlier dynasties, it has not identified any list of kings, by which the earlier sovereigns of Egypt, or the period for which they reigned, may be determined. In digesting the Chronology, according to the great lunisolar cycle, it leaves the last of the reigns undefined; and the date of its termination undetermined. Until these defects were supplied,—the former of which might have been remedied in the position which it occupied, as a Canon prefixed to a collection of the dynasties, as the latter might have arisen from the negligence of the transcriber in leaving the succession imperfect,—it was plainly of no importance, that the epochs of the fabulous era had been determined, while we remained in ignorance of the length and close of the historical, which was mainly, if not exclusively, of importance in constructing a system of Chronology.

^e Ibid. p. 291.

^f Introd. supr. p. 6.

1. Before these defects were supplied, it is obvious, this document must have been unavailing to any chronological purpose: on rejecting which all hope of reducing the Egyptian Chronology to order or consistency must be abandoned. In turning my attention to the discovery of a remedy for its imperfections; it soon became manifest, that the first might be supplied from the *Laterculum* of Theban kings, which had been compiled by Eratosthenes^g. This catalogue, in commencing with Menes, the first king, was necessarily deduced from the epoch of the monarchy, and contained the accredited list of its earliest sovereigns. It was, at the same time, likewise observed to disclose on examination the closest affinity to 'the Ancient Chronicle;' agreeing with it, precisely, in stating the number of those sovereigns, and the time for which they had respectively governed^h. From the singular conciseness of this document, and the exactness of the agreement thus observed, it seemed reasonable to conclude, that it had been prefixed to some compilation of the Dynasties, of which the *Laterculum* formed a part, if indeed the whole of it had not proceeded in its original form from the hand of Eratosthenes.

2. For the other defect of the Ancient Chronicle, which afforded no slight evidence of its antiquity, the remedy appeared to be no less obvious and ready, as suggested by the theory, on which it was constructedⁱ. In the mode of its distribution, according to the great lunisolar cycle, the defective part might be supplied, from the measures assigned to the

^g Trans. supr. cit. p. 293. et
n. 22. comp. p. 319. et n. 105. p.
325. 329. 353.

^h Trans. ut supr.

ⁱ Ibid. p. 291. et n. 15.

residue, to which it maintained a determined proportion. As the length of the earlier divisions of the Chronology, and the sum of the whole were specified; it was merely necessary to subduct the former from the latter, to obtain the length of the remainder: in ascertaining which, the great desideratum was obtained, as the length of the last or historical period was necessarily determined^k.

As the first step in the application of this ancient Canon, by which the Egyptian Chronology may be digested; the different numbers by which this result has been obtained may be laid before the reader. It distributes the earlier period into three parts, to which it assigns a duration of 34,201 years; and it declares the thirty Dynasties, to which it reduces the monarchy, had reigned for a period of 36,525 years^l. On taking the difference between these sums, amounting to 2324 years, the period of the pure Chronology, which was confined to the historical as distinguished from the fabulous era, is at once determined. The following short table, which is formed on the numbers supplied by the Ancient Chronicle, as thus estimated, will render the matter easy of comprehension:

The Sun reigned.....	33000 years
The Gods.....	984
The Semigods	217
<hr/>	
Length of the fabulous era	34201
Remainder, or historical era	2324
<hr/>	
Presumed length of both eras	36525

The precise limits, within which this vast period was comprised, which was defined by the great lunisolar

^k Trans. supr. cit. p. 291.

^l Ib. comp. Anc. Chron. i Append.

cycle of the Egyptians, might be at once determined and expressed in years of the vulgar reckoning, had the Ancient Chronicle been completed from the first, or had it reached us exempt from errors. Its defects, however, in this respect, may be easily supplied from Diodorus Siculus; who in determining the close of the monarchy, with the reign of the last king, has necessarily stated the year, in which the historical era terminated^m. His testimony is the rather entitled to respect, as he followed Apollodorus and Eratosthenes, in his chronological computations. In his determination of the length of the fabulous period, as I shall soon take occasion to show, he exactly accords with the numbers of the preceding table. His computations will be equally shown, to accord sufficiently with those of the Ancient Chronicle; on which our present deductions are mainly founded.

By Diodorus, the close of the monarchy, on the fall of its last sovereign, is placed in Ol. cvii. 3. corresponding with the year B. C. 350ⁿ. On assuming this year, as the basis of the computation; and adopting the intervals expressed in the preceding table; the general distribution of the Egyptian Chronology may be effected; and the epoch of the different periods, into which it is divided, be accurately determined. We have only to add in succession the respective intervals, to each other; in order to obtain the cardinal epochs, which define the precise limits of the entire system, and of its principal divisions. As the intervals in the Ancient Chronicle are expressly computed in years of the can-

^m Diod. lib. xvi. p. 448. al. p. 291. n. 17.
537. d. comp. Trans. supr. cit. ⁿ Conf. supr. n. ^m.

cular period, to which cycle it is accommodated; it will be necessary to reduce the higher numbers, in the subjoined table, in the proportion of the lesser, joined to them by the algebraic sign; in order to obtain their true value in years of the vulgar reckoning:

Reigns.	Duration.	Accession. B. C.
Of the Sun	33000	36875—25
Of the Gods	984	3875—2
Of the Demigods ...	217	2891—2
Of the Mortals	2324	2674—1
Entire Period	36525.	End...350.

On reducing the last numbers,—which express the epochs of the accession of the earliest kings,—according to the annexed symbols; they will be converted, from Egyptian years of 365 days each, into Julian of $365\frac{1}{4}^{\circ}$. In the following table, where this reduction is made; the proper epoch of each period is expressed in years of the christian era B. C. and of the Julian Period:

Accession.	B. C.	J. P.
Of the Sun	36850 ...	anticipated
Of Vulcan and the gods	3873	841
Of Horus and the demigods	2889	1825
Of Menes and the mortals	2673	2041
Close of the Period	350	4364

The cardinal epochs of the Egyptian Chronology being once ascertained; within the limits thus determined, the whole of the Dynasties, as well of the fabulous as the historical era, admit of an exact distribution. Having effected this object, on a former occasion, it will be sufficient for me, at present, to state the result of the essay, which was submitted

^o Trans. supr. cit. p. 293. n. 26.

to the consideration of a learned Society, and has been published in their Transactions^p. As it will be necessary for me to enter into particular details, when I have occasion to distribute each Dynasty into its component reigns, and to assign the date of each monarch's accession; it could lead to no practical result, to enter at present into unnecessary repetition. In extracting from the Transactions of the R. Society of Literature, the following Table^q, in which the dynasties are distributed according to the principal epochs of the Chronology, as lately determined; it may be expedient to observe of the historical era,—commencing in the year B. C. 2673 and ending in the year B. C. 350,—that the main divisions into which it is partitioned,—and which have a point of contact in the year B. C. 1624^r, at the commencement of the XVIIIth Dynasty,—are respectively extracted from the royal catalogues, compiled by Eratosthenes and Manetho. These two periods, consisting respectively of 1049 and 1274 years, and amounting together to 2324 Egyptian or 2323 Julian years, as corresponding in length with the historical era, fit in exactly between the epochs, by which it is bounded^s. As deduced from different and independent authorities, they afford that proof of the accuracy of the distribution of the reigns of the intervening period which amounts to demonstration.

FABULOUS ERA.

	Dynasties.	Duration.	Founders.	Accession.
—	6 Gods	984	Vulcan...	B.C. 3873
—	9 Demigods.....	216	Horus	2889

^p Trans. supr. cit. p. 325. 326.

^r Trans. ut supr. p. 326.

^q Trans. supr. cit. p. 326.

^s Trans. *ibid*.

HISTORICAL ERA.

	Dynasties.	Duration.	Founders.	Accession.
—	15 Thebans	443	Menes ... B. C.	2673
—	22 Thebans	606	Sensaophis ...	2230
XVIII	17 Diospolites ...	333	Amosis	1624
XIX	5 Diospolites ...	185	Sethosis	1291
XXI	7 Tanites	130	Smedes	1106
XXII	9 Bubastites	116	Sesonchis	976
XXIII	4 Tanites	89	Petubastes	860
XXIV	1 Saïte	44	Bocchoris	771
XXV	3 Ethiopians	40	Sabbachon ...	727
XXVI	7 Saïtes	160	Stephinales ...	687
XXVII	5 Persians	113	Cambyzes	527
XXVIII	1 Saïte	6	Amyrtæus	414
XXIX	3 Mendesians ...	20	Nepherites ...	408
XXX	4 Sebennites	38	Nectanebo ...	388
	Persians		Ochus	350

Previously to entering into the subject of the positive chronology, which is comprised in the preceding Table; a few observations may be offered on the subject of the theory, on which it was constructed; and in compliance with which a reign was assigned in it to the Sun, the purely theoretical nature of which will justify its exclusion from the list of the Dynasties.

As that theory was originally constructed, it is more than probable, this inordinate reign found no place in it; and was subsequently introduced, when its limits were practically determined, by the subversion of the monarchy, under the last native sovereign. A few considerations will be sufficient to establish this assumption.

By the circumstance of his nature alone, the Sun appears to be excluded from taking a place among sovereigns who discharged a personal office, and

were supposed to have occupied the throne of Egypt. We have seen sufficient reason for concluding, that when Herodotus conversed with the priests on the subject, he was assigned no place in the royal succession^t. The same conclusion seems to follow, from the terms applied to the Ancient Chronicle, in the short preface, which has been prefixed to it in Syncellus. "There is current among the Egyptians a certain old chronicle, containing 113 [119] descents in thirty dynasties: an unlimited time, in 36,525 years^u." There seems to be but one mode, in which these apparently contradictory words can be reconciled: which, however, acquire an obvious and natural sense when a distinction is made between the positive and the theoretical Chronology. While the succession of the kings continued in progress, by the accession of reign to reign, it might be consistently said that so far the time was unlimited; as its positive limits were only to be determined when the last reign had ended. By the theory, it was on the other hand, assigned a period of 36,525 years; that time being supposed necessary to produce those civil and natural convulsions in which alone the monarchy would finally perish.

The Ancient Chronicle, it is obvious, acquired its present form, after this consummation had unexpectedly occurred; as it includes the XXXth Dynasty, with which, it was allowed, the monarchy had ended. The only plan, by which the theory could be preserved in principle, was accordingly adopted in its reconstruction. The period of 33,000 years, which remained to complete the great cycle, would

^t Vid. *supr.* p. 53. n. °.

^u Syncel. *Chronogr.* p. 51. 52. *conf.* *Append.* N°. 1.

thus naturally acquire a place, where we now find it, at the commencement of the fabulous era^v. Its very length, as consisting of so many years, would give facility to the transposition, from the close to the commencement of the Canon. In 33,000 years, there are precisely 1320 lunar cycles of 25 years each; when these cycles were subducted from the remaining 1461, of which the great period was composed, the residue amounting to 141, or 3525 years; would then necessarily accord with *the complement* of the period. The positive Chronology^w, as confined to the record of real events, would thus sustain no disturbance by its transposition; while its theory would be preserved, in effect, inasmuch as it required that the Chronology should be circumscribed by the great lunisolar cycle. The former consideration, which proves this inordinate reign of no essential use in our immediate investigation, will sufficiently justify its rejection from the present system, which has no aim beyond that of being practically useful. It should be at the same time acknowledged, that in its preservation in the Ancient Chronicle, it has contributed to the recovery of the main divisions of the Chronology, without which it would not have been practicable to determine *the complement*, which marked out the historical period. And until this object was attained, whatever might be the speculations, which were employed on Manetho and the Dogstar; they might produce an incoherent dream,—and probably in the shape of a long, heavy and elaborate book,—but, most assuredly, nothing meriting the name of Chronology.

^v Vid. Append. No. I.

^w Vid. supr. p. 129. 134.

On the subject of the inordinate period, on which the theory of the Egyptian Chronology was founded, it may be useful to observe,—as it forms the great stumbling-block, by which the essayists, who have undertaken to clear up its obscurity, find themselves embarrassed,—that it has not arisen, as they have weakly supposed, in the immeasurable antiquity of the national annals. It is, on the contrary, the exclusive effect of the cycle by which it was measured; as the solar and lunar elements of which it was composed admitted of no equation in a shorter period, than was unavoidably adopted^x. From this root every defect has sprung up, with which the Chronology may be charged in theory or practice. For thus it has acquired the unwieldy extent to which it has been drawn out; to fill up the inanity of which, the new and inordinate reign of 33,000 has been devised and ascribed to the sun; but which has rather contributed to expose its hollowness, than supply its deficiencies, under the last emendation.

For the establishment of the positive Chronology, to which the preceding Table is properly confined, its contents may be distributed into four principal parts, which are suggested by the natural division of the subject. The Egyptian monarchy sustained several revolutions, in which it passed under the dominion of foreign rulers; and after some years' submission, again recovered its freedom. It thus yielded successively to the arms of the Phenicians and the Persians, by the latter of whom its independence was finally extinguished. The different periods of its subjection and liberation are marked with clearness, and the date of each revolution may

^x See *Introd. supr.* p. 6.

be consequently determined with chronological precision. A succession of epochs may be thus ascertained, which will serve as the graduation of a scale, by which the entire course of events may be accurately measured. When subjected to this test, the accuracy of the system, not merely as constituting a whole, but as consisting of parts, may be established with a certainty amounting to demonstration.

1. From the testimony of Diodorus, who, in determining the date of the cessation of the monarchy, has supplied a basis for the computation of its commencement and extent^y; the epochs of the different intervals, into which, I have just observed, the chronology may be distributed, admit of the clearest establishment. We can hardly account for so extraordinary a circumstance, unless on the assumption of the fact, already intimated, that he derived his dates from the tables of Eratosthenes, from which consideration their importance is greatly enhanced. On the fabulous era, his testimony could not have been more explicit or favorable, had it been invented for the establishment of the preceding computations. Speaking of the Egyptian priests he observes; “they feign in their fabulous legends, that the most ancient of their gods reigned above 1200 years^z :” according to the difference between the Egyptian and Julian reckoning, in the computation of the latter that period was exceeded precisely a year. How exactly the testimony, which it should be remembered, is reported on the authority of the priests, accords with the present Chronology, will appear in the subjoined extract from the foregoing Table^a.

^y Vid. supr. p. 130. et n.^m.

^z Diod. lib. i. p. 15. Μυθολογούσι δὲ καὶ τῶν Θεῶν τοὺς μὲν

ἀρχαιοτάτους βασιλεῦσαι πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ διακοσίων ἐτῶν.

^a Vid. supr. p. 132.

The Gods (reigned) 984 years from B. C. 3873

The Demigods..... 216 ——— from 2889

Sum of the reigns 1200 years.

Nor is this estimate of the fabulous era, the happy effect of conjecture or accident; but the positive result of the planetary cycle, which I formerly described, and which preceded in its adoption and use the canicular, in the chronological systems of this ancient people^b. This distinction is clearly intimated in the Ancient Chronicle; which on assigning this period as the length of the fabulous era, speaks of the subsequent as computed in years of the latter cycle^c. The remark is misplaced and unmeaning, unless it be understood in reference to the distinction between the planetary and sidereal cycle. According to the principles of the former, the conjunctions of the planets occurring in the opposite tropes of the year,—by which the contrary catastrophes of conflagrations and deluges were supposed to be effected,—were produced at the interval of 1200 years, which is consequently prescribed as the length of the earliest period of the Chronology. How the particular epochs of the accession of Vulcan and Menes were connected with those catastrophes, I shall have occasion to explain more at large hereafter. The preceding observation will suffice at present to expose the futility of the verbal critics^d, who, on the authority of a various reading, or by the mere force of a conjecture, would stretch out the fabulous era beyond the narrow limits which it is here assigned, or extend, with an additional

^b Introd. supr. p. 7.

^c See Append. N^o. 1.

^d Vid. Böckh, ut supr. p. 441.

n. 3. comp. Intr. supr. p. 9.

thousand years, one of the periods into which it is divided.

2. On the subsequent interval, commencing with the historical era and the accession of Menes, the testimony of the same historian, is scarcely less apposite and decisive than on the preceding. "After the gods," he declares, "they say, Menes the Egyptian, was the first monarch. Then in succession; it is said, that two and fifty; all descendants of the foregoing king reigned above one thousand four hundred years^e." This testimony will be best understood, when taken in conjunction with that of the Tablet of Abydos. That extraordinary monument contained the list of so many sovereigns^f between Menes and Sethosis; and as the reputed genealogy of the latter monarch, it recognised that relationship between the sovereigns, who followed each other in the order of succession, which is here attested by Diodorus. The annexed extract from the preceding Table^g will prove, on inspection, how far its calculations are established by the preceding authorities:

	Years.		B. C.
15 Thebans	443	Menes	2673
22 Thebans	606	Sensaophis ...	2230
17 Diospolites	333	Amosis	1624
54 Sum of reigns	1382	Sethosis	1291
		Difference ...	1382

On excepting Menes from the first 15 Theban sovereigns, the computation of Diodorus being made

^e Diod. lib. i. p. 42. al. 29. b.
Μετὰ τοὺς θεοὺς τοίνυν πρῶτον,
φασὶ βασιλεῦσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μή-
ναν. . . . Ἐξῆς δὲ ἄρξαι λέγεται τοῦ
προειρημένου βασιλέως τοὺς ἀπογόνους

δύο πρὸς τοῖς πεντήκοντα τοὺς
ἅπαντας, ἔτη πλείω τῶν χιλίων καὶ
τετρακοσίων.

^f See Birch Gall. of Antiq. p. 71.

^g Vid. supr. p. 133.

exclusive of that monarch: the number of kings specified in the Table, exceed but by one those enumerated by the historian. As the sum of the years for which he declares they reigned is obviously expressed in a round number; it may be understood as defining with sufficient exactness the extent of an interval, in computing which considerable allowance should be made, on the ground of its extreme length and remoteness, for unavoidable error.

By the interval thus determined, on such high and independent evidence, the immediate connexion between the different portions of the royal succession, which have been derived from Eratosthenes and Manetho, is fully established. And the proof that they formed parts of one uninterrupted line admits of being considerably strengthened, as I shall take occasion hereafter to show, from the Table of Abydos: as it exhibits the last monarchs in the earlier part of the line, and the first in the later, following each other in immediate succession. The challenge which has been given for proof of the connexion,—which decides the question between the advocates of the contracted and extended Chronology,—may be therefore regarded as fairly answered^h. By the continuity of the succession, the constituent parts of the preceding Table are proved to be as strictly united, at the point of contact in the year B. C. 1624, as in any portion of the two series of which it is constituted.

3. Of the next section of the royal succession, which occupied the throne until its subversion by the Persians, the extent may be again determined on

^h Vid. Böckh ut supr. p. 628. sq.

the authority of Eratosthenes, as preserved by Syncellus. Although he has not positively declared the number of years for which it continued to reign; in stating the number of the sovereigns of which it consisted as having amounted to 53; and in restricting to 10 the number of the dynasties which ruled in Egypt, from the foundation of the monarchy to its subversion under Cambyzes, he has sufficiently defined its limitsⁱ. The defect in his testimony may be, however, supplied from certain, though indirect sources. The remarkable date of the restoration of Egypt to its independence, under Amosis, on the expulsion of the Phenicians, as referred to the year B. C. 1624, has been established by a double mode of computation^k founded on the date of its total subversion, by Ochus; the latter of which dates, has been supplied by Diodorus, and it would appear, was derived by him from Eratosthenes^l. By the same weight of testimony, the time of its previous subjugation, under Cambyzes, has been referred to Ol. lxiii. 3, and may be consequently dated from the year B. C. 527^m. If from the interval between these dates, amounting to 1097 years, we deduct

ⁱ See Trans. ut supr. p. 329. sq. comp. Syncel. p. 147.

^k Trans. ut supr. p. 326.

^l Vid. Trans. p. 291. n. 17. comp. Diod. lib. xvi. p. 448. al. 537. d.

^m Diod. lib. ii. p. 44. a. al. 62. —καθ' ὃν χρόνον Καμβύσης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, κατὰ τὸ τρίτον ἔτος τῆς ἐξηκοστῆς καὶ τρίτης Ὀλυμπιάδος. This date, if correctly stated, must be understood of the perfect establishment of the authority of

Cambyzes, in Egypt. His first impression on the country, (as appears from a tablet on the Coseir Road, vid. Burt. Excerpt. pl. viii. 1. which confirms the length assigned to his reign by Africanus,) was ascribed to the year preceding. Although the difference, on either side, is perfectly insignificant; I have deemed it best to interpret the historian by the monuments, adhering strictly to the latter.

the period of 333 years, during which, according to Manetho, the succession continued, from Amosis to Sethosis; the remainder amounting to 764 years will necessarily express the time it continued from Sethosis to Cambyzes, which is the immediate object of our inquiry. How exactly these numbers, defining the precise length of the part of the succession which intervenes between these monarchs, accords with the calculations of the preceding Tableⁿ, will appear on inspection of the following extract :

	Dynasties.	Reigns.	Founders.	Accession.
1st	— Thebans	—	Menes ...	B. C. 2673
2d	— Thebans	—	Sensaophis ...	2230
3d	17 Diospolites	—	Amosis ..	1624
4th	5 Diospolites	185	Sethosis	1291
5th	7 Tanites	130	Smedes	1106
6th	9 Bubastites	116	Sesonchis	976
7th	4 Tanites	89	Petubastes ...	860
8th	1 Saïte	44	Bocchoris ...	771
9th	3 Ethiopians	40	Sabbachon ...	727
10th	7 Saïtes	160	Stephinales ...	687
<hr/>		<hr/>		
10	53	764	Cambyzes ...	527

From an inspection of the last numbers it consequently appears, that in exact accordance with the preceding computation, founded on the authority of Eratosthenes, or in concurrence with his views, there were 10 Dynasties from Menes, 53 sovereigns from Amosis, and 764 years from Sethosis, each interval being computed to the time of Cambyzes. Beyond the subversion of the Egyptian monarchy, by this prince, who suppressed the religion and banished the priests, it does not appear the Latercu-

ⁿ Vid. supr. p. 133.

lum of that celebrated astronomer extended; Diodorus having closed his Egyptian chronology at this point, beyond which it had not been protracted by Herodotus°. It is almost superfluous to observe, in conclusion, that while the authorities, on which the preceding computations are founded, so exactly accord with the Table which has supplied the forecited intervals and dates; they are irreconcilably opposed to every system of Chronology which exceeds those prescribed limits^p.

4. The last section of the royal succession, comprising the interval between Cambyzes and Ochus, has its limits necessarily defined by the dates of the revolution which they effected in the monarchy, and which have been determined from Diodorus^q. As respectively identified with the years B. C. 527 and 350; the difference between these numbers, amounting to 177 years, determines the length of the last period, which all chronologists agree in distributing into four Dynasties. How precisely this number accords with the computations of the preceding Table of the successions, an inspection of the following extract from it will demonstrate :

Dynasties.	Reigns.	Founders.	Accession.
XXVII 5 Persians	113	Cambyzes	B. C. 527
XXVIII 1 Saïte.....	6	Amyrtæus	..... 414
XXIX 3 Mendesians...	20	Nepherites	..... 408
XXX 4 Sebennites	38	Nectanebo	..... 388
	<hr/>	Ochus	..... 350
	177		

It is thus apparent that the entire monarchical succession naturally divides itself into three periods,

° Cory, Anc. Fragm. p. 154.
158.

Menes B. C. 5702 to Cambyzes
B. C. 529.

^p Comp. Append. N^o. 3. from

^q Comp. supr. p. 141. n. ¹ and ^m.

when it is regarded as confined to the historical era; but into four, when extended to the fabulous; the length of which respectively has been determined by a weight of testimony, which antiquity rarely exceeds, or indeed equals. Until the authority on which it is established be rejected, it compels the conclusion, that the duration of this ancient kingdom did not exceed 2323 years, as comprised between the years B. C. 2673 and 350; and that this period, to which the historical era was limited, admits of being divided into the following intervals, the epochs of which have been accurately determined. The first, extending from the accession of Menes, the founder of the monarchy, to the time of Amosis, under whom it recovered its independence, on the expulsion of the Phenicians, comprised a period of 1049 years. The second, extending from this monarch, under whom the national greatness was first developed, to the accession of Sesostris, under whom it attained its meridian glory, did not exceed an interval of 333 years, in which the arts attained the highest degree of cultivation. The third, extending from this proudest epoch of its greatness,—through the interval of its decline,—to its subjugation by the Persians, embraced a period of 765 years. The last, extending through an interval of 177 years,—during which, with the intermission of 64,—it acknowledged the authority of the same nation, and closed with the total extinction of its independence by Ochus. This brief history of its fortunes carries with it this evidence of its accuracy, that it agrees with the accredited annals of other ancient nations, and is confirmed by the monuments that exist to the present day of the native arts and industry. And

the practical proof, which thus establishes its rational claims, is no less consistent in refuting the extravagant pretensions of that extended Chronology, which would so ridiculously magnify its antiquity^r.

A conclusion, equally hostile to the one system and favorable to the other, has been deduced from the theory of the Chronology, as founded on the canicular cycle^s. It necessarily results from the position of Sirius, with respect to the sign of Leo; that the bounds of that Chronology should be limited to the time, in which the sun, when in the summer solstice, passes through that constellation. But the coincidence of these phenomena, in which its theory was founded, ceases in process of time, by the retrocession of the star from the solstitial point, as its longitude is increased by the equinoctial precession. It is no less remarkable, that the period in which the transition is made from one sign to the other, corresponds to an extraordinary degree with that assigned to the Egyptian Chronology, as deduced from that theory, and expressed in the preceding Table: or, it may be almost affirmed, that both are defined by the same epochs^t. The reasons need not, on the other hand, be repeated in this place, which reduce to an absurdity, not less practical than theoretical, any system of Chronology, which transgresses the limits thus fixed in nature, and at the same time pretends to any connexion with Sirius, and the periods of its rising.

In the development of the present system, and construction of the forecited Table, it may seem superfluous to observe that no further use has been

^r Vid. supr. p. 143. n. p. ^s Vid. supr. p. 104. ^t Vid. supr. p. 105. n. f.

made by me of the ancient Chronicle, either on the present or any former occasion, but to determine the epochs of the fabulous and historical era^u. Whether the first numbers of that document have been altered from Eusebius, or the numbers of Eusebius altered from it, is alike a matter of the utmost insignificance to my principles or conclusions; although I entertain no doubt on the subject, and believe myself competent to establish the latter position, on the internal evidence. The objections of those critics^v, who have done me the favor to reject my system, for the purpose of substituting a more *correct* one of their own, have, therefore, had no other effect but to prove that they have succeeded no better in their estimate of that document, than their comprehension of my object or intention. Their sage, and it must be observed, unsupported conjecture, that it is the fabrication of some Jew or Christian, I must be allowed to say is not merely absurd, but the perfection of absurdity; and needs no other refutation than it receives in the bare consideration of the cycle, on which it is founded, and which is essentially and exclusively Egyptian^w. But whatever be its worth, so little has it been followed in those numbers, to which their objections apply; that they have been not only rejected by me, but the reigns and dynasties, of which they assign the duration. In fixing the dates and duration of these, it has been designedly abandoned for the higher authority of Eratosthenes and Manetho: the defect in the *Laticulum* of the one, of which we possess but a fragment, having rendered an application to the *Tomes*

^u Vid. Trans. ut supr. p. 291.
comp. supr. p. 131.

^v Böckh, ut supr. p. 436.
^w Vid. supr. p. 127. cf. p. 6.

of the other, expedient, in order to supply the deficiency. The Chronicle was, indeed, so far of use, as it served to disclose the cycle on which the theory of the Egyptian Chronology was founded; and in its distribution of the succession, directed our attention to those authorities, which were best qualified to supply its imperfections, and which have alone furnished the epochs and intervals that are adopted in the present system.

To obviate the objections of future cavillers, it may be, however, necessary to prove, that in the limited use which has been made of the Chronicle no licence has been used, which admits not of justification from its nature and condition. For I am conscious it may be excepted to me, that the last date, which marks the termination of the Chronology with the extinction of the monarchy, has not been confirmed by its authority; although upon its accuracy, the computation of the fabulous and historical must necessarily depend for its correctness; both of which dates have been determined from the data which it supplies, and must be allowed to be of fundamental importance in the present investigation.

It is, however, fully sufficient for the establishment of the testimony of the Chronicle, as far as it has been adopted; that its author or reviser represents the practical Chronology as limited to thirty dynasties, and prolongs the succession to the end of the thirtieth*. The date of its termination, as matter of fact and notoriety, and on historical record, may be consequently taken on the authority of Dio-

* Vid. infr. Append. 1. In accordance with the words in which it is prefaced by Syncellus, p. 52. a.

it closes in these terms; τὰ πάντα
ὁμοῦ τῶν λ' δυναστειῶν ἔτη Μγ' καὶ
σφκέ'. conf. p. 51. c.

dorus^y. So much is this the case, that had the termination of the last dynasty been dated in the Chronicle, and fixed by the author, in a wrong year; it would have been necessary to correct his error by the higher testimony of the historian.

It is, however, gratifying to observe, that in the determination of this cardinal date, on which the just computation of the higher epochs in the Egyptian Chronology depends, there is abundant reason to conclude, this ancient document accorded with Africanus, and Diodorus. In the annexed scale, the difference in the computation of the reigns of the last four dynasties, between it and Africanus, is stated in separate columns; and as the first of them commences and the last terminates in a fixed and known date^z; the interval between them is necessarily defined, and appears to have amounted to 177 years, as already noticed. When by this standard, the errors of transcription or computation are corrected on either side; the distribution of the intermediate dynasties will stand as in the accompanying columns; of which the first date alone needs alteration.

AFRICANUS.				THE CHRONICLE.			
Dynasties.		Reigns.		Dynasties.		Reigns.	
		err.	cor.			err.	cor.
XXVII	5 Persians ...	124...	113	5 Persians	124...	113	
XXVIII	1 Saïte	6	.... 6	(omitted)	*	.... 6	
XXIX	3 Mendesians	20 ...	20	3 Tanites	...39 ...	39	
XXX	4 Sebennites	38 ...	38	1 Tanite	....18 ...	18	
		188	177			181	177

The period assigned to the first of these dynasties, in which the duration of the Persian authority in

^y Vid. supr. p. 141. n.¹.

^z Vid. supr. p. 141. n.^m.

Egypt is computed on either side at 124 years, is palpably extended beyond the proper limits^a. The precise landmark between the close of the foreign domination and the recovery of the national independence, could not be easily determined: the country is accordingly represented by Diodorus, as having been in a state of revolt^b; while the liberation of some portion of it was viewed, by the liberators, as a restoration of the ancient monarchy. By those who leaned to the former opinion, the term of the Persian domination would be necessarily prolonged; while those who adopted the Egyptian, to which on the present occasion our own preference is due, would as necessarily adhere to the latter. On taking from the interval of 177 years, already ascertained, the amount of the reigns assigned to the native sovereigns; it leaves a remainder of 113 years, for the period of the Persian domination, according to the Egyptian computation. When, consequently, the first numbers, on each side, expressing this period, have undergone the necessary correction; and the omission of Dynasty XXVIII in the Chronicle is supplied from Africanus; the corrected line will stand, as in the collateral columns, leaving the in-

^a It is merely necessary to observe, in substantiation of this assertion, that for the 19 years which Darius Nothus reigned over Persia, he is likewise made, by both Africanus and Eusebius, monarch of Egypt; although his authority in the latter country did not exceed nine. Syncellus, after ascribing to him 21 years, adds; *Αἴγυπτος ἀπέστη Περσῶν δευτέρῳ ἔτει Νόθου Δαρείου*. He probably

meant the second Darius. Conf. *infr.* n. ^b.

^b Diodor. lib. ii. p. 41. al. 29. a. The subjection of Egypt to the Persians is computed by the historian at 135 years, inclusive of revolts. From the 2nd year of Darius *Hystaspis* to the 1st of Nectanebo, when Egypt recovered her freedom, there were so many years precisely.

significant difference of a single year between the opposed authorities. When with the necessity of the correction, thus applied to the same number on either side, we take its slightrness into the account; and compute the chances of a disagreement, as likely to arise in a succession conducted through different lines of sovereigns: it is not too much to impute the extraordinary agreement between the Ancient Chronicle and Africanus, or Manetho, to the same cause, from whence Diodorus's computation of the same interval, derived its precision and correctness.

I shall now venture to conclude, that the main epochs and intervals of the Egyptian Chronology,—as disposed in the Table which has been supported by no ordinary authority,—are settled by its conclusiveness beyond reasonable objection or cavil. On the basis of *evidence* it properly rests, and is sustained by it as a system; not merely, as constituting a determinate whole, but as distributed into parts, each of which is defined, and proved by such authority. The limits within which it is comprised, having been fixed by the Ancient Chronicle; within the boundaries thus decided, the different portions of the royal succession, which were supplied by Eratosthenes and Manetho, were observed to fit exactly. And while the greater intervals to which they extended respectively, and which met in the year B.C. 1624, admitted of a further division, which was sustained throughout by the authority of Diodorus; in the entire distribution of the Chronology, it was found neither to exceed nor fall short of the extreme dates B. C. 2673. and 350. as prescribed in the Table preceding. Those who would extend it beyond these limits, or dispute the correctness of

that distribution, will have little reason to presume on their success in the attempt, until they have replaced the evidence by which it is sustained, with that which is of opposite and equal authority. Until this is effected, they require not to be told, how little is to be achieved, in overthrowing it, by random guesses, or confident assertions; and that such opposition, however it may provoke contempt, cannot deserve refutation.

SECT. II.

The first grand division of the Egyptian Chronology distributed after Eratosthenes.

THE division of the Egyptian Chronology into its principal intervals, and the date of each being determined; the subdivision of each interval into reigns, may be effected with little difficulty, and without incurring the chance of great or sensible error. The respective length of those reigns is ascertainable, on competent authority; and when, from the incompetence or fallibility of transcribers, it is imperfectly reported, it admits of an easy correction from the greater interval, of which it forms a component, and which, as having its extremes determined, cannot admit of diminution or extension. All that remains for the accurate distribution of the royal succession, of which we are thus given the length and the parts, is matter of the simplest computation. By the mere addition of one reign to another, the date of each is determined in succession; until the entire series is disposed in chronological order.

In reducing this process into practice; the reigns of the gods need not long detain our attention. They supply a subject which may interest the inquirers into the mythology or astronomy of the ancients; but are of no importance to the investigator of the Egyptian Chronology. By Eratosthenes they were rejected from his digest of the science; which he commenced from the reign of Menes, the

first mortal ruler. As far as they deserve any notice, they have already undergone investigation: as they contributed, in filling up the first division in the Chronology, to determine the epochs into which it was distributed. On the reigns themselves, or the gods who ruled in the course of them, it would be nugatory to bestow any further consideration; were it not obvious, from their titles alone, that they were the invention of the Greco-Egyptian period. In this form they equally served, as in the Hieratical Canon, of which they constituted the first section^a, to define the extremes within which its first interval was included; and of which it is only of importance to our present investigation to be informed, that it was measured by the peculiar cycle, which the planets formed in their conjunctions^b. In furnishing the sovereigns, as they supplied the reigns of the succession, they determined the intervals into which it was distributed; though it would not be worth the pains to inquire, on what principle it was divided and arranged. It has been sufficient for my purpose to have determined the period by which it was circumscribed, and the theory which defined its limits. Having, on a former occasion, investigated this subject, as serving to determine the main epochs of the Chronology; I may refer the reader, who is interested in the result of the inquiry, then prosecuted, to the Memoir^c, in which the first sketch of the present system made its appearance. In the present stage of this investigation, it would prove neither interesting nor useful. At the head of the Canon

^a Birch, Obs. on the Hier. Can. p. 3.

^b See Intr. supr. p. 8. cf. p. 138.

^c Trans. ut supr. p. 298.

prefixed to this work, he will find the fabulous era,—as distributed into the reigns of the gods and demigods,—assigned its proper place in the royal succession. Its introduction, in this place, would lead me into useless repetition.

I. Of the two constituent parts of the pure Chronology, which have been deduced from Eratosthenes and Manetho; that supplied by the *Laterculum* of the former, as preceding in the order of time, is entitled to the first consideration.

This section of the Canon, which extends over a period of 1049 years, is bounded by the reigns of Menes and Amosis. From this interval 443 years are cut off, in the *Ancient Chronicle*^d; the grounds of which partition are easily detected in the principles on which the general distribution of the Chronology was latterly effected. It seems to have been thought requisite,—though on what account is not directly apparent, or indeed worth the inquiry,—that the royal succession should extend to thirty Dynasties. In compliance with this arbitrary, and apparently whimsical, disposition, it became necessary to separate, from the line of sovereigns, as many as were necessary to complete the favorite, or fortunate number. As fifteen Dynasties had continued to govern Egypt, from the usurpation of the Phenicians, to the termination of the monarchy; fifteen were still found wanting to make up the requisite thirty. So many generations of sovereigns, whose joint reigns were found to amount to 443 years, were accordingly separated from the earlier part of the succession; and when numbered in their

^d Vid. *supr.* p. 128. *conf.* 2 *Append.*

order, they served to justify the numbering of the subsequent dynasties, in commencing with the fifteenth. For it seems not improbable, that originally they commenced with that number, and were reckoned to thirty; not as perpetuating an unbroken succession of monarchs, but as occupying the last place in a collection of the Dynasties, which included many that were contemporaneous. In the *Tomes of Manetho*, which are so constituted, these observations are at once illustrated and confirmed. And although the testimony of *Eratosthenes* is negative, it seems to establish the same conclusion; in distributing the earlier reigns, in a *Laterculum*, as he disregards their disposition in *Dynasties*^e, it may be concluded, that he did not consider them as originally disposed in that manner.

In disposing the annexed scale, which contains the first section of the royal succession, as deduced from *Menes* its founder; the epoch of the monarchy is necessarily referred to the first year of his government. As the length of the reigns of his successors is fixed by *Eratosthenes*, we have only to add them, in their order, to the epoch, to obtain the date of each king's accession. Of the numbers of the scale, which are disposed in parallel lines, the first express the given length of the reigns, the second the sum of them; which as computed from the epoch, necessarily coincide with the years of the *Theban era*. In the third line, the years are reduced to the *Christian era*.

^e See *Append. N^o. 2.*

Monarchs.	Reigns.	Sum.	Dates.
1 Menes	62	62 B. C.	2673
2 Athothes I	59	121	2611
3 Athothes II	32	153	2552
4 Diabies	19	172	2520
5 Pemphos	18	190	2501
6 Tøegar Anachus	79	269	2483
7 Støechus	6	275	2404
8 Gosormies	30	305	2398
9 Mares	26	331	2368
10 Anoyphis	20	351	2342
11 Sirius	18	369	2322
12 Chnubus Gneurus ...	22	391	2304
13 Rauosis	13	404	2282
14 Biyris	10	414	2269
15 Saophis (Cheops) ...	29	443	2259
Termination			2230

On the separation of so many monarchs, whose reigns extended to the singular period of 443 years, from the Theban succession, I have elsewhere made some observations^f. It was there shown that in this partition of the historical era, there was an extraordinary agreement between the Egyptians and Chaldeans; who concurred in fixing the point of separation between the brighter and more obscure period, in the year B. C. 2230. A like deduction from the later times of which a clearer knowledge was attainable, is also observable in Diodorus; by whom 300 years are cut off from the historical and annexed to the fabulous period^g. Indications of a like distribution of the earliest age may be likewise

^f Trans. ut supr. p. 293. seq.

^g After computing the reigns of the gods at 1200 years; (ut supr. p. 137. n. z.) Diodorus di-

rectly subjoins, τοὺς δὲ μεταγενέστερους οὐκ ἐλάττω τῶν τριακοσίων.

traced in the fabulous part of the Canon, ascribed to Castor the Rhodian^h.

On the nature and bearing of this testimony, a more suitable opportunity will occur to dilate hereafter; although, I doubt not, some sagacious critic may be found to make short work with it, in proscribing it as the handy work of some Jew or Christian, did it not include the evidence of Diodorus. I am induced, notwithstanding, to dwell a little longer upon this subject, not merely with a view to its illustration and establishment, but as it corroborates the preceding Table, and confirms its leading epochs. The times which they serve to define, are distinguished by the erection of monuments, not less remarkable for their size than remote antiquity. By these immovable barriers, a boundary is fixed, beyond which speculations upon the high pretensions of the nations who raised them, cannot be carried with any show of rationality. And they may be said to be inscribed with those deep and legible characters, which determine the epoch that is of the highest importance in digesting the Egyptian Chronology.

We have no account of any monuments in Egypt, to which greater antiquity is ascribed than the pyramids; none of any that were raised in Chaldea, to which an earlier date is assigned than the tower of Belus. Among the oldest cities in the latter country, Babylon acquired the highest place; and in the former, Thebes and Memphis were regarded as unrivalled antiquity: for opinion was divided as to which of these cities had the earlier foundation. But to whichever the priority was conceded, it was

^h Cory, *Anc. Fragm.* p. 91.

generally supposed to have been founded by Busirisⁱ. As the name which is nearest to this, in sound, in the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes, is Biyris^k, the predecessor of Cheops; and no other name occurs in that document which bears it the least resemblance; we may conclude that they designate the same monarch, who was of course the reputed founder of the Egyptian metropolis, whether its site was in the Upper or Lower country.

With respect to the tower of Belus, which offers the first landmark to guide us in our present investigation, the date of its erection is fixed with every necessary precision. According to evidence, obtained on the spot, and from the highest authorities, by the literati who accompanied Alexander in his Asiatic expedition, it was raised in the year B. C. 2234^l. This date was determined, from the known interval between the foundation of Babylon and its capture by the Macedonian hero. On comparing it with that ascribed to the epoch of the earliest or obscure period of the historical era of the Egyptians, B. C. 2230; a difference merely of 4 years is found to exist between them, which, in the present computation, must be regarded as wholly insignificant. From the precision with which the one was determined, the accuracy of the other may be inferred: particularly as no difference existed, in the determination of this epoch, between the Egyptians and the Chaldeans^m. We may at least conclude, from so extraordinary an agreement in their testimony, that, as the latter people, with every inclination to magnify their antiquity, could advance no higher

ⁱ Diod. lib. ii. p. 42. al. 29. d.

^k Vid. *supr.* p. 156.

^l Trans. *ut supr.* p. 39. seq.

^m Trans. *ut supr.* p. 294.

proof of it; none could be produced by the former, who were their early rivals, in those pretensions.

The largest and oldest of the pyramids, which were raised in the vicinity of Memphis, we are informed by Herodotus was erected by Cheopsⁿ; and his testimony has received a remarkable confirmation, from an inscription, containing the name of that monarch, which has been discovered, in the interior of the monument^o. According to the preceding scale, the reign of this celebrated king extended to 29 years, and as commencing B. C. 2259, must have ended B. C. 2230. Though the latter date, as marking the epoch of the obscure period, might be perhaps taken, with greater probability, from the close of the reign of Biyris, his predecessor. As the great pyramid, however, was erected in the reign of Cheops, and from the time requisite to raise such a pile, most probably towards the end of it, though the entire population assisted in raising it; the date of its erection could not have greatly differed from that of the tower of Belus, which has been lately determined. When the proximity of this date to that of the tower of Babel^p, in which both nations might have found a model for their imitation, is taken into the account, there will be as little ground for surprise, that the Egyptians and Babylonians should have worked on the same plan, as at the same period. On the assumption that there is any truth in our deductions; and if there is none they are not worth the prosecution; a solution will be found, for every difficulty, in the simple consi-

ⁿ Herod. lib. ii. c. 123. 124.

d'Egypt. p. 138.

^o Vyse, Oper. in the Pyr. vol.

^p Usser. Annal. ad A. M. 1757.

ii. p. 94. L'Hôte, Lettr. écr.

A. C. 2247.

deration, that if true it must of necessity be consistent.

A coincidence so extraordinary between these ancient nations, in fixing the time of their earliest monuments, it must be surely allowed, conveys the strongest practical proof of the fidelity, with which the remembrance of their origin was preserved, and their dates were determined. Nor can the epoch of the obscure period, with which I am immediately concerned, be excluded from this sentence, as deriving, from those monuments, the very strongest evidence of its correctness.

That epoch, it must be however observed, is thrown back about a century by Diodorus, who apparently limits the obscure period to 300 years^q. But of the date, thus identified, it is remarkable that it has an extraordinary correspondence with that assigned to the building of Nineveh, which preceded Babylon, just 100 years, in the time of its foundation^r. In the range and diversity of the Sicilian historian's subject, which included the annals of Assyria and Egypt; some explanation may be found of this anticipation of the received epoch; which differed, in these countries, in the proportion of their advancement in civilization. It must be at the same time remembered, that it is not proposed by him, as fixing the date of any building or monument, but merely as circumscribing a period, which he mentions, as associated with the fabulous era.

The date of the earliest city in Egypt, which Diodorus seems to have considered Thebes, he computes by the number of descents in the royal succession, between Mœris who excavated the lake called by his

^q Vid. *supr.* p. 156. n. 8.

^r Trans. *ut supr.* p. 41.

name, and Busiris, who was the reputed founder of the city. Some indistinctness has arisen in his statement, from his false conception, that there were two monarchs who bore the latter name; to the younger of whom he assigns what belonged of right to the elder. On abstracting this error in his testimony; it appears that he computed 28 generations, between the founder of the city, and the excavator of the lake^s. If the Canon prefixed to this work be inspected, it will be found, on numbering so many reigns in ascent, from Mœris B. C. 1538, that we arrive at the reign of Biyris B. C. 2269. The proximity of this reign to that of Cheops, which it immediately preceded, leads us to a date for the foundation of the Egyptian metropolis, not very remote from that assigned to the earliest pyramid: and as we might naturally conclude the foundation of the city preceded, by some time, the erection of the monument. It will be surely allowed to be something more than accidental, that in our inquiries into the dates of the earliest structures in those ancient countries, we should be always directed somewhere near the year B. C. 2230, which forms the epoch of the obscure period. As these monuments afford the only practical proof, that the claims of the inhabitants to a high antiquity, were not mere reveries, but had a foundation in fact; it surely affords no slight confirmation of the present Chronology, that the dates acquired by investigation, and attested by those monuments, are invariably in accordance with its computations.

^s Diodor. lib. ii. p. 46. al. 32. c. p. 47. al. 33. c. conf. Cory, Anc. Frag. p. 151.

Some further light may be likewise thrown on this obscure subject, from Josephus, who, it must be allowed, was versed in the writings of Manetho. As he ascribes the building of Memphis to Menes; in conceiving it the work of the earliest monarch, he must have regarded it, as the oldest city of Egypt. And however he may have erred on the subject of names, in which there was great room for error; on the subject of facts and dates, he seems not to have been much mistaken. Between the foundation of that city, however called, and the reign of Solomon, he allows no greater interval than 1300 years^t; which forms a singular contrast to the grand conceptions of Egyptian antiquity, which some modern chronologists have formed, whose means of investigation cannot *greatly* surpass those which were enjoyed by the Jewish historian. However widely his figures may seem to differ from theirs; they have a remarkable correspondence with the dates of the present chronology; when the necessary allowance is made, in the estimate of a date, which is expressed in round numbers, and computed by centuries. If the interval be measured from two fixed points, the accession of Biris and of Sesach, the contemporary of Solomon and spoiler of the temple; which according to the present chronology respectively occurred B. C. 2269 and 976^u: it amounted precisely to 1283, or in round numbers to 1300 years, as Josephus computed. Nor will his calculations be

^t Joseph. Antiq. lib. viii. c. 6.
Πάντες οἱ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς
ἀπὸ Μιναιὺ τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομή-
σαντος. . . . μέχρι Σολομώντος πλει-
όνων ἐτῶν τριακοσίων καὶ χιλίων

μεταξὺ διεληλυθότων Φαραῶνες ἐκ-
λήθησαν.

^u Vid. Chron. Can. supr. B. C.
2269. et 976.

justly denounced as loose or inaccurate, when the difficulties of ascertaining the precise time are at all estimated. How far the low date which he has thus ascribed to the Egyptian monarchy,—and which accords so exactly with the computations of the present Chronology,—is to be reconciled with the immeasurable intervals of the extended, must be submitted to its advocates and admirers.

I have been thus minute and particular in establishing the historical epoch or date, which is of the highest importance in the present Chronology; as from its correctness the whole of the dates, which are successively deduced from it, must derive their authority. The species of evidence, on which it has been sustained, as drawn from the ancient monuments and early computations of nations alien to Egypt, acquires no less weight from its solidity than its independence. As resting on matter of fact, it is alike competent to establish the just claims of the limited Chronology, and to subvert the wild and groundless pretences of the extended, which would supersede it^v. It requires neither ingenuity nor learning, in the fabricators of any age or country, to assign the nation they would exalt an antiquity which was unfathomable; and unquestionable witnesses, whose knowledge of the Egyptians was de-

^v In the extended Chronology, Menes is thrown back to the year B. C. 5702, and Cheops to B. C. 4904. See both dates, Append. N^o. 3. In conformity with the authorities cited in the text, we must conclude that Thebes or Memphis was founded about the former time, and the largest of the pyramids about the latter:

with the trifling anachronism of above 3000 years in the one date, and above 2600 in the other. But these differences, I must acknowledge, are of no significancy, when the comparison is made between heterogeneous quantities; like the speculative and the practical, in history or chronology.

rived from personal knowledge, concur in charging them with this vanity or weakness. But the hollowness of such pretensions was at once exposed by the vacuity which was created in the national annals, which were unsupported by facts or dates, through that long and barren period, and which admitted of no appeal, in support of their truth, to historical or monumental records. Such are the tests to which the earliest epochs of the Egyptians have been submitted, the interest or importance of which have associated them with chronological characters, by which their pretensions may be easily determined. The result of the experiment has been not more favorable to the contracted Chronology, than it has proved unpropitious to the extended: for, in the direct opposition of the two systems, the subversion of the one of necessity is implied in the establishment of the other.

II. By the separation of the obscure period from the historical era, an epoch is distinguished, previous to which nothing meriting the name of Chronology can be supposed to have existed among the Egyptians. In the notices which have reached us of that dark age, no mention is made of any event or monument, that can be included within it. The *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes, from which this section has been parted by a particular date, extends to 22 monarchs, whose collective reigns, including a short interregnum, amounted to 606 years. The period through which the succession extended, though distinguished from that marked as the obscure, must still be regarded as dim and uncertain. The earlier part of it is indeed distinguished by the erection of the oldest and largest of the pyramids;

and the later part by the transmission of the first tabular monuments which preserve memorials of the reigning monarchs^w. The evidence, which they perpetuated of a positive Chronology, suffers an interruption, particularly in the remoter part of it; for which, however, we are enabled to account by the incursions of foreign invaders, who though unable to destroy the old and stupendous monuments of the country, suspended the progress of those arts which are only cultivated in times of peace and leisure^x. As they succeeded in subverting the monarchy, and gave rise to a long and obstinate contest, which terminated in their expulsion from Egypt, about the year, when the Laterculum closes^y; they have so far contributed to the national annals that proportion of incident, which furnishes Chronology with a subject; and by which we are enabled to distinguish no less certainly between that which is fictitious and real, than by architectural or monumental remains.

In the subjoined list of Theban kings, who are said to have reigned in that period, the Laterculum of Eratosthenes is completed. It has been constructed, on the same principle as the antecedent

^w Wilkins. Mater. Hierogl. p. 74. "Excepting the pyramids, we find no monument of early date till the time of Osirtasen . . . who was probably of the XVIth Dynasty." Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. ii. p. 160. "Gli obelischi adunque d' Eliopoli e del Fayum; e la nostra stela di Firenze sono, eccetto le grandi piramidi memfitiche, e alcune tombe di Dgizeh e di Saqquerah i più antichi monu-

menti tra le egiziane antichità, che porteno date contemporanee di un' epocha certa." The Pisan professor agrees with Sir G. Wilkinson, in identifying the Dynasty to whose times these monuments are referred, with the XVIth: comp. ibid. p. 188. and Canina, Archit. Antic. pt. 1. p. 48.

^x Rosellin. ibid. p. 190.

^y Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1053. c. 1054. a.

portion, by the addition of the reigns in succession, according to the length assigned to each in the Theban archives; by which the ancient chronologist professed to be guided^z. The summation both of the kings and their reigns, is however carried on from the foregoing Table; it consequently expresses the date of each monarch's accession, not only in the vulgar reckoning, but in years of the Theban era, as computed from Menes.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
16 Sensaophis	27 ...	443	B. C. 2230
17 Moscheres (Mencheres) ...	31 ...	470	..... 2203
18 Musthis	33 ...	501	..... 2172
19 Pammes (Archontes)	35 ...	534	..... 2139
20 Apappus the Great	100 ...	569	..... 2104
21 Echescosocaras.....	1 ...	669	..... 2004
22 Nitocris	6 ...	670	..... 2003
23 Myrtæus	22-1 ...	676	..... 1997
24 Thyosimares.....	12 ...	697	..... 1976
25 Thinillus	8 ...	709	..... 1964
26 Semphucrates	18 ...	717	..... 1956
27 Chuther Taurus	7 ...	735	..... 1938
28 Meures	12 ...	742	..... 1931
29 Chomaephtha	11 ...	754	..... 1919
30 Sæcuniosochus.....	60 ...	765	..... 1908
31 Penteathyres	16 ...	825	..... 1848
32 Stamenemes (Pt-amenemes) 23 ...	841	.....	1832
33 Sistosichermes	55 ...	864	..... 1809
34 Maris	43 ...	919	..... 1754
35 Siphos (Hermes)	5 ...	962	..... 1711
— Interreign.....	14 ...	967	..... 1706
36 Phruron (Nilus)	5 ...	981	..... 1692
37 Amuthantæus	63 ...	986	..... 1687
Termination.....	1049	.....	1624

As there are no various readings in the copies of

^z Syncel. Chron. p. 147.

the *Laterculum*^a, the original of which has been preserved in Syncellus; there is no ground for doubt, on the length of the reign of each of the kings included in the catalogue; the accuracy of which is established by the most convincing evidence. The last date alone, B. C. 1624, is deserving of immediate remark, as a leading epoch which tends to confirm the principles on which the preceding Tables have been computed. In this year, it has been observed, the different proportions, contributed to their formation by Eratosthenes and Manetho, and respectively calculated from each extreme of the historical era, exactly meet^b: and so far give demonstrative evidence, that they form the integral parts of which the entire Chronology is constituted, from the first year of Menes to the last of Nectanebo.

As far as the positive testimony of Eratosthenes extends, which comprises a period of 1049 years, it may be regarded as conclusive. Although we have but a fragment of his *Laterculum*, which was apparently protracted to the subjugation of Egypt by Cambyses^c; that fragment constitutes the most valuable part of it, as not only embracing the most remote period of the Chronology, but that which could not be supplied from any other writer, if it had perished. I have already observed, that as extending to the date of the expulsion of the Phœnician usurpers: it corresponds, in the division, with one of the principal epochs of the Egyptian annals.

As tending to establish the immediate connexion between the different sections of the royal succession

^a Ap. Syncel. p. 91. seq.

rod. lib. iii. c. 28. Diod. lib. ii.

^b Trans. ut supr. p. 326.

p. 62. al. 44. a.

^c Conf. supr. p. 143. n. o. He-

which have been respectively supplied by Eratosthenes and Manetho; some of the last reigns in the preceding Table, which were contemporary with the Phœnician usurpation, deserve particular examination. At this point, as the most vulnerable in the system, it is natural to suspect, the attack of its opposers will be directed. The connexion, as I have lately shown, and shall soon prove in detail, is established, in theory at least, by the testimony of Diodorus^d: who in computing the successions and the period between Menes and Sesostris, leaves no room for an interval, between their component parts, by which the junction could be severed. The practical proof of its continuity is chiefly supplied by the Tablet of Abydos, which contains the genealogical succession, which professed to establish the lineal descent of the one monarch from the other. As preliminary to the production of the evidence of this monument, by which the question is laid at rest; it is necessary to inquire how far the last kings in the *Laterculum* are capable of being identified with correspondent kings in the Tablet. On its being thus rendered apparent, that the component parts of the succession, which are assumed to be uninterrupted in the Chronology, are really connected on the monument: its evidence must be regarded as definitive in establishing the point at issue.

The kings of the Dynasty, numbered in Africanus as the twelfth, are allowed, by the common consent of antiquaries and chronologists, to be included in the Tablet^e. Not only the similarity of the names, but the order in which they are disposed, on both

^d Vid. *supr.* p. 139. and n. c.

^e Vid. Wilkins. et Rosellin. *ut supr.* p. 165. n. w.

sides, places the matter beyond reasonable controversion. By a train of proof, distinguished alike by its ingenuity and originality, the same monarchs have been detected in the *Laterculum*, and the identity in the computation of their place and age, has been demonstrated, by the Chevalier Bunsen^f. No justice can be done to a subject, in which he first pointed the way to discovery; until the monumental evidence, which bears upon the subject, undergoes a specific examination. The present stage of this investigation limits me to the consideration of the comparative testimony of Eratosthenes and Manetho. As the very learned Chevalier has justly observed, the former had the key to the succession; which the embarrassment of the times contributed to involve in uncertainty and confusion. He has, at least, distinctly marked the intervals, by which the just limits are assigned the succession, and its distribution may be effected.

The disturbed state of the kingdom, as I have stated, under its foreign invaders, led to many changes in the government, as exercised in a remote part of the country^g, which occasioned sudden transfers, and temporary partnerships in the throne, that were unknown to any other period of Egyptian history^h. This is particularly apparent from the monuments, on which all parties were ambitious to inscribe memorials of their precarious dominion. We learn chiefly from these, that two families, named Osartisen and Amenemhe, acquired the ascendancy occasionally, and admitted others of their own or

^f Bunsen *Ægyptens Stel. B. II.* 284. sq.

^g Rosellin. ut *supr.* tom. ii. p. 190.

^h Bunsen. *ibid.*

the opposite party, to a participation in the governmentⁱ. Notwithstanding the diversity in the accounts of Eratosthenes and Manetho, to which these changes unavoidably gave rise; there is a striking conformity in their testimony, in those points more especially which are of value in the estimation of a chronologist. They agree not merely in defining the duration of the dynasty, but in determining its epoch. And although the frequent changes in the succession, occasioned correspondent diversities in their statements, which were most probably taken from registers, made in different places: they generally agree in the length and distribution of the principal intervals. To such, in fact, Eratosthenes seems to have confined himself; for, neglecting the minor details, which were consigned to the tabular records, from which they are now recovered, he has merely recorded the reigns of the principal kings of each family, who, amid all the intermediate changes, retained the name of royalty^k. From this circumstance his testimony derives its greatest value; as it supplies the clue by which the perplexity of a subject, unusually involved from the diversity of the evidence, may be satisfactorily unravelled.

It may be necessary to observe, as a preliminary to the annexed scale, that the Dynasty, numbered in Africanus, as the XIIth, is now generally recognised as the XVIIth, in consequence of its immediate precedence to the XVIIIth, in the Tablet of Abydos^l. The kings of this Dynasty, as occupying

ⁱ Bunsen. loc. cit.

^k Id. ibid.

^l Wilkins. Rosellin. al. ut supr.

p. 165. n. w. Hincks, on Egypt. Stele, p. 20. Trans. R. I. A.

vol. xix.

this rank, must have been necessarily contemporaneous with the Phenicians; who, from the time of their invasion of Egypt, governed the lower country, until they were expelled and superseded by the last-named Dynasty, under the conduct of Amosis, its founder^m. The Thebans and Phenicians, according to Manetho, reigned togetherⁿ; and as the one had seized upon Memphis^o, the other fixed the seat of government at Thebes: or, it seems probable, from the monuments discovered in the vicinity, at This or Abydos. It is, therefore, only to be presumed in reason, that their reassumption of the government, in Upper Egypt, was coincident with its usurpation in the lower, by the foreign invaders. In disposing the XIIth, or as it should be properly termed the XVIIth, Dynasty, in the annexed scale, the date of the first king's reign is, therefore, necessarily taken from that of the first Phenician sovereign's usurpation^p. The order and length assigned to the reigns is that^q which is ascribed to them by Africanus^q. In the parallel column the reigns are disposed and dated, as in the preceding Table, founded on the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes. In the extract from Africanus I have, however, inserted a reign, which is distinguished from those which he has supplied, by its enclosure in brackets: for this interpolation I have not only the authority of the Hieratic Canon;

^m Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1041. b.

ⁿ African. Dyn. XVII. ap. Syncel. p. 61. Ὅμοῦ οἱ Ποιμένες καὶ οἱ Θηβαῖοι ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη ρα΄.

^o African. *ibid.* Ἦσαν δὲ Φοί-

νικες ξένοι βασιλεῖς ε΄, οἱ καὶ Μέμφιν εἶλον. Comp. Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1039. g. Rosellin. loc. cit.

^p See Can. Chron. supr. 2^d. Success. B. C. 1878.

^q Ap. Syncel. p. 61.

but the presumption, that, in consequence of the identity of the names, it might have been absorbed in the following reign, by a common error of transcription.

AFRICANUS.			ERATOSTHENES.		
	B. C.			B. C.	
Sesochores	46	— 4 1874	Osartisen I ...	42	1874
Ammenemes ...	38	1832	Pt. Amenemes	23	1832
Sesostris	48	—	Sestosis-hermes	55	1809
Lacheres	8				
Ameres	8	1754	Mares	43	1754
[Ammenemes ...]	14				
Ammenemes ...	8				
Q. Scemiophris	4	—	Termination ...		1711
	<hr/> 160			<hr/> 163	

(1.) In the *distribution* of the *reigns*, the text of Africanus is so grossly corrupt, as to afford no ground of comparison or deduction. That it is incorrigibly corrupt, especially in the earlier reigns, will be proved on the testimony of documents, coincident with the times, and raised by the monarchs whose names they bear, when we have occasion to inquire into the subject and conclusiveness of the monumental evidence. The utmost, consequently, that can be deduced from the preceding transcript from Africanus, relates to the epoch and duration of the Dynasty, and the time of the second monarch's accession^r which forms the main link between the testimony which is confronted in the opposed columns. The reigns of the three first kings, in that placed on the left, as computed at 132 years, are considerably extended; apparently with a view to

^r See Can. Chron. *ibid.* B. C. 1832.

supply the vacuity occasioned in the succession, by the omission of the reign of the fourth Amenemes. The just length of the Dynasty is thus nearly preserved; which is computed by Africanus at 160 years^s, and of which, it must be observed, that it forms a round number.

(2.) By Eratosthenes the epoch of the Dynasty is not determined; nor was it to be expected in his list of Theban monarchs: as we know, from the construction of the *Laterculum*, that, previously to the XVIIIth Dynasty, he acknowledged no such division of the royal succession; nor does it appear that any such division was recognised, until a distinction arose, on the accession of a foreign Dynasty to the throne of Egypt. The epoch in the column to the right, containing his testimony, has been consequently determined from a monument; which marks a synchronism in the 43rd year of Osartisen I, and the 1st of his successor, Amenemhe II^t.

(3.) As the opposed testimony of the two writers before us, is extracted from catalogues, formed on different principles, and apparently derived from different registers, deposited at Thebes and Memphis; the utmost that can be attained from a comparative view of it, are general conclusions: the precise chronology being reserved for discussion when the monumental evidence is examined. The epoch of the Dynasty, as concurrent with that of the Phenician, is justly placed in the year B. C. 1878^u; that of the second king's accession, which is the main pivot of

^s Syncel. p. 60. a.

p. 170. n. 1. supr.

^t Leemans, Lett. à Salvolini
p. 34. comp. Hincks, loc. cit.

^u See Chron. Can. supr. 2 Success. B. C. 1878.

the computation, is referred no less justly to the year B. C. 1832^v, as determined by the concurrent testimony of both witnesses. The whole time for which the Dynasty reigned, is distributed into three periods, marked by the accession of the principal sovereigns: the first comprising 42 years, the second 78, and the third 43, amounting together to 163 years. The succession, having continued for this time,—as reckoned from the invasion of the Phenicians and calculated at 121 years from the accession of Amenemhe,—necessarily ended B. C. 1711^w. In the whole of this period and to the date nearly of their expulsion, B. C. 1624, the Phenicians necessarily maintained the ascendancy. But in this year, which the liberation of Egypt from a foreign yoke rendered a remarkable epoch, in its chronology as well as history, the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes found a proper time, if not for its termination, for its suspension^x. I have elsewhere observed that it was apparently extended to the subversion of the monarchy, by Cambyzes; at which crisis, Herodotus and Diodorus bring their account of Egyptian affairs to a conclusion^y.

^v Ibid. B. C. 1832.

conf. supr. p. 143. n. °.

^w Ibid. B. C. 1711.

^y Vid. Herod. et Diod. ut supr.

^x Trans. R.S.L. vol. iii. p. 330.

p. 167. n. °.

SECT. III.

The second grand division of the Egyptian Chronology distributed after Manetho.

IN the arrangement of the royal succession, from the expulsion of the Phenicians to the close of the monarchy, a different mode of disposition was adopted by Manetho, from that employed by Eratosthenes. The line of sovereigns which was regarded as uninterrupted by the one, is divided into Dynasties, by the other; as will directly appear, on reference to the Table, in which they are arranged and dated^a. The latter division, it has been already intimated, was unknown to the early and antecedent period of the Egyptian Chronology. It is disregarded in those ancient and concurrent documents, the Ancient Chronicle^b, the Laterculum of Eratosthenes^c, and the Tablet of Abydos^d. The practice, thus generally observed, seems not to have been deserted, until the accession of a foreign Dynasty, in the Phenician, to the throne, induced the necessity of distinguishing between the alien and native sovereigns. The distinction, thus admitted, was easily extended, by analogy, to the earlier parts of the succession; such documents as the Hieratic Canon,—copies of which were doubtless prevalent in Egypt,—having supplied lists of royal persons, already disposed in Dynasties, for the purpose of the compiler. The present distribution

^a See Chron. Can. supr. from
B. C. 1624 to 350.

^b Append. N^o. 1.

^c Ibid. N^o. 2.

^d Birch, Gall. of Antiq. p. 66.
seq.

of the succession, into thirty Dynasties, would consequently appear to have arisen after the monarchy had reached its end; the computation of that number having been then made, in ascent, from the reign of the last monarch. The Phenician Dynasty, when thus reckoned, would be found to occupy about the place of the XVth; and as soon as the notion was formed that this number should be doubled, the direct mode of reckoning would naturally supersede the retrograde, and the present disposition of the royal line be the result, as we observe in the arrangement of Africanus. While under this supposition, every thing appears clear and consistent; should it be rejected, Manetho will not be easily reconciled with Eratosthenes.

If it be supposed that the disposition of the Dynasties by Manetho, was that which they preserve at present, in the work of Africanus; it cannot be doubted that, in constructing his *Tomes*, that chronologist made use of some such document as the Hieratic Canon, the fragments of which are preserved at Turin. To what extent he might have followed it, can be now only matter of conjecture; although it may be safely inferred,—from the particular object which he not only pursued but avowed,—that in publishing his author's text, he considerably exceeded the licence of an editor. But, whatever be the judgment which is adopted on this subject, it may be safely affirmed, that Manetho is not deserving of equal confidence, as a guide, with Eratosthenes. The latter was devoid of all prepossession to which an Egyptian may be supposed subject; and could therefore examine the documents, to which he had unlimited access as librarian of Alex-

andria, with coolness and deliberation. The former, as a priest and Sebennitee, had local and national prejudices, by which the judgment is liable to be misled; and by which he might be induced to dispose the Dynasties, as collected in the Canons, in the form which was best calculated to flatter the national vanity. If he is acquitted of a direct intention to exalt the antiquity of his country; he may be suspected of having set the subject in that undetermined light, which might leave the reader the liberty of a choice, and which appears in fact to have misled his editor.

While Manetho may be, therefore, regarded as an unsafe guide, in the earlier part of the Chronology; in the investigation of the latter part of the succession, he may be followed as a secure authority. He here entered on a known and beaten road, where he was not liable to be led astray, as when his course lay through a remote and obscure period. From the accession of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with which we are immediately concerned, and for some time previously, the division of the succession, which he adopted, was known and recognised. From that time there was no room for error, as there was no variety for choice; by which the chronologist could be perplexed in making an election. With the sole exception of the XXth Dynasty, of which an account is given in the course of the present section, the succession was perpetuated in a single line, the accidental divisions of which were matters of secondary importance. Whatever question might arise on the extent of any Dynasty through which it was prolonged, or the length of the reigns, into which it

^e Syncel. Chron. p. 40.

was partitioned; all were agreed, that the number did not exceed twelve, and that none of them were contemporaneous.

Our attention being confined to the former point; the investigation of the royal succession may be regularly resumed, with the consideration of the XVIIIth Dynasty. From the year B. C. 1624—as forming the conterminous epoch, between the line of monarchs deduced from Eratosthenes and Manetho^f,—the accession of the first sovereign is necessarily dated. The distribution and length of each reign, is given by Josephus, on the authority of Manetho^g. As not only the years, but the days and months to which each of them extended, are specified; the similarity of this method to that adopted in the Hieratic Canon, renders it probable that, in the first instance the dates were copied, from some such document by Manetho. The currency of such Canons in Egypt, consequently affords no slight evidence of the accuracy of the computer, while it accounts for his extraordinary minuteness.

In the subjoined list of kings, the length of each reign is expressed merely in years; the authority of Josephus being followed, in preference to that of Africanus, who yielded to a particular bias in his distribution of the reigns in this Dynasty. The reign of the first king, it should be however observed, had two commencements, which were distant 5 years; the first being dated from the time of his accession to the throne, the second from his acquiring the dominion over lower as well as upper Egypt, on the expulsion of the Phenicians. The earlier date is necessarily adopted in a computation like the pre-

^f Vid. supr. p. 132.

^g Joseph. contr. Apion. lib. i. p. 1041.

sent, which professes to give the royal line in an uninterrupted succession; it has, besides, the sanction of Champollion, and is founded on a distinction in Josephus^h: who in the 25 years ascribed to Amosis, limits his words expressly to that part of his reign which succeeded the expulsion of the Phenicians. In computing the date of the subsequent reigns, the years are exclusively reckoned, the months and days being neglected, after the common practice of chronologists. The beginning of each reign was uniformly calculated from that of the current year; as particularly appears in the Astronomical Canon, which was completed in Egypt, and contains a part of the royal Egyptian successionⁱ. If however, the computation be made from the month, in which each reign commenced, and the years be then reckoned in order; it will not differ essentially from the preceding; the number of the years, and of consequence the length of the Dynasty being the same, in both cases. On the particular bias, by which the testimony of Africanus was worked, and by which his opposition to Josephus is neutralized, it will suffice at present to observe, that it is as easily obviated as it is detected. In disregard of the common authority of chronologists,—including that of Manetho, as attested by the historian,—he has discarded Rameses into the following Dynasty^k. On restoring this king to his proper place; the chronology of the entire succession is repaired, having nearly resumed the form which it possesses in the Jewish historian.

^h Champol. Lett. au Duc de Blacas, p. 107. Joseph. loc. cit. p. 1041.

ⁱ Des-Vignol. tom. ii. p. 349. sq.

^k African. ap. Syncel. p. 73. conf. Append. N^o. 3. B. C. 1411.

It may be necessary to observe here, that in distributing the subjoined Dynasty, and those which follow, into reigns; the epoch of the first king's accession is always taken from the last year of the part of the succession, immediately preceding. It seems almost superfluous to add, that the years are uniformly computed from their respective commencements, according to the usual practice of chronologists:

XVIII DYNASTY¹.

17 Diospolites, 333 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Amosis	30	30 B. C.	1624
2 Chebron	13	43	1594
3 Amenophis I.	21	64	1581
4 Amense	22	86	1560
5 Mephres (Mœris)	12	98	1538
6 Mephramuthosis	25	123	1526
7 Thothmosis	9	132	1501
8 Amenophis II. (Memnon)	30	162	1492
9 Horus	36	198	1462
10 Achencherses	12	210	1426
11 Rathothes	9	219	1414
12 Achencheres I.	12	231	1405
13 Achencheres II.	12	243	1393
14 Armais	4	247	1381
15 Rameses	1	248	1377
16 Rameses Meiamun	66	314	1376
17 Amenophis	19	333	1310
Termination			1291

The causes by which Africanus was misled, in reducing this Dynasty, and extending the following, must be sought in his vain attempt to verify certain fanciful coincidences between the Egyptian and

¹ Joseph. loc. cit. p. 1041. a.

Greek Chronology^m: on which a more convenient opportunity will occur to dilate hereafter. Against so palpable a corruption of the succession it must be nugatory to argue, or protest; as it is admitted even by those who follow him with a closeness approaching to servilityⁿ. The length of the preceding Dynasty, even in the estimation of such prejudiced judges, is allowed to be justly computed at 333 years^o; although some slight difference appears in the distribution of the reigns, which is perfectly insignificant, as far as concerns the length and connexion of the royal succession.

The error of Africanus in the computation of the XIXth Dynasty, has been already intimated. Having brought down Rameses, to verify certain synchronisms, of which more anon; in order to make room for him, it became necessary to contract the two reigns between which he is interjected^p. As Eusebius cannot be convicted of having thus tampered with the text of Manetho, he becomes a more secure guide in our endeavour to restore it. On taking the length of the 3d and 4th reign, from his Chronicle^q, while, in the other reigns, Africanus is followed; the departure from the computation of the latter will be justified by adequate authority. In the exactitude with which the sum of the reigns, thus determined, fits in between the extremes assigned to the Dynasty, on independent and sufficient evidence; its present disposition,—as far as respects

^m Vid. Joseph. *ibid.* p. 1041. g.
conf. Böckh. *ut supr.* p. 561. 586.

ⁿ Böckh *ut supr.* p. 651. conf.

p. 775.

^o Id. *ibid.* p. 672.

^p African. *ap.* Syncel. p. 73.

^q Euseb. *ap.* Syncel. *ibid.*

the length if not the distribution,—may be regarded as fully established^r:

XIX DYNASTY^s.

5 Diospolites, 185 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Sethosis (Sesostris) ...	51	51 B. C.	1291
2 Rhampses	61	112	1240
3 Amenephtes	40	152	1179
4 Ammenemes.....	26	178	1139
5 Thuoris.....	7	185	1113
Termination			1106

In the reign of the last king, a synchronism has been remarked by Africanus, on which considerable stress has been laid by his last editor, as tending to confirm the extended Chronology^t. According to the assumption of that chronologist, Thuoris was the Polybus of Homer^u; and as the fall of Troy is found to have occurred in the limits assigned to his reign in that system; it is consequently presumed to be verified, by that cardinal epoch of the ancient Chronology. I formerly took occasion to disclose the secret of such coincidences, in remarking upon one which was founded on a miscalculation of Apion, the grammarian. It will not require many words to prove, in accordance with my former remarks, that the present and a similar synchronism, in the XXIII^d Dynasty, as resting on the testimony of Africanus, derive their sole support from the loose computations of Africanus.

It is needless to object to the identification of

^r See Trans. ut sup. p. 326. conf. Append. N^o. 3. B. C. 1326.
n. 133.

^t Böckh ut sup. p. 695.

^s African. ap. Syncel. p. 73.

^u African. ut sup. p. 72.

Polybus in Thuoris, as purely arbitrary, and not merely unsustained by evidence, but opposed to probability. As such a conclusion would be readily inferred by the chronologist, on his perceiving that the fall of Troy fell within the time which he assigned to the reign of that monarch; we discover at once the grounds of the identity, and of the synchronism consequently founded upon it.

A less practised chronologist than Africanus could not have been unconscious, that the fall of that city was computed, by Eratosthenes, at 407 years before the first Olympiad^v. In dating his Chronology, according to the usual practice, by the years of that era: its epoch was necessarily placed, where we find it, in the reign of Petubastes, the first king of the XXIII^d Dynasty. We have, indeed, only to ascertain the reign in which the year 407, taken in ascent from that epoch, would fall, in order to discover how he arrived at his conclusion. Thus much, however, is apparent, on the mere inspection of his chronology. Between the first year of Thuoris and the last of Petubastes, he calculates 409 years; having taken the XXth Dynasty into his computation^w. If we place the first year of the Olympiads, with Geh. Böckh, his late editor, in the 39th of Petubastes^x; it required no arithmetician to discover, that the year 407, previously, fell in the reign of Thuoris. And if Africanus, as there is good reason to suppose, made use of tables, disposed in parallel columns; he would reach the conclusion, which is offered in proof of his

^v Dodwell, de Cyclis. tab. chron. p. 693. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. ix. cap. 30. 31. tom. ii. p. 34. sq.

^w Vid. Syncel. p. 72. comp. Append. N^o. 3. B. C. 1190. and 776.

^x Böckh ut supr. p. 777.

chronology, without even the trouble of a calculation.

There is, however, earlier and higher authority, and such as, we may be assured, could have had no such foundation, for rejecting this synchronism of Africanus, and the computation on which it rested; in so far as Dynasty XXth was taken into the succession. The fall of Troy, as occurring B. C. 1184, happened in the reign of Rhampses, according to the present Chronology^y. But the name Rhampsinitus is given, by Herodotus, to a king whom he declares succeeded Proteus, at Memphis; when Paris visited Egypt, on his abduction of Helen^z. When we take the preceding synchronism into account, together with the similarity of the two names; there will be little room for hesitation, in deciding, whether the destruction of Priam's kingdom and capital is to be referred to the reign of Rhampses, or Thuoris. No allusion is made, by Homer or Herodotus, to any king of a name resembling the latter^a. That event may be, on the contrary, referred, with most probability, to the king who was similarly named with the former. As the interval of at least ten years elapsed between the flight of the fugitives and the fall of the city;

^y See Chron. Can. supr. B. C. 1240.

^z Herod. lib. ii. cap. 121. conf. cap. 112. 116.

^a Pliny, N. Hist. lib. xxvi. 4, 2. (as Geh. Büekh has remarked, Ib. p. 567.) places the fall of Troy under a king named Ramisses; which, as the more familiar name, would be easily substituted for

Rampses, but would be hardly mistaken for Thuoris. Had it suited the Geheimerath's object, to patronise Rampses, instead of Thuoris, how flippantly we should have been told of the ease with which P might be mistaken for IS; and RAMISSES consequently substituted for RAMPSES!

the one event having, by supposition, occurred in the reign of Proteus; the other would be most naturally referred to the reign of Rhampsinitus, his immediate successor.

From this early and impartial testimony, a consequence may be now deduced, which is alike fatal to the preceding computation of Africanus, and the inference derived from it, in favor of the XXth Dynasty, as forming a part of the royal succession. The whole of the evidence on which its pretensions are sustained, is comprised in the following declaration of Africanus: "The twentieth Dynasty of 12 Diospolite kings, reigned 135 years^b." This statement, which is repeated verbally in Eusebius^c, is not sustained by the name of a single king, who might have reigned in that period. It besides occupies a suspicious place in Africanus, as set at the head of the third of the Tomes, into which Manetho divided the succession, for some reason, which is not now directly apparent. From this point, the royal line admitted of being interpolated with a new Dynasty, without any interruption or derangement of its order. And as I have elsewhere shewn^d, by the admission of this supernumerary, the prescribed

^b African. ap. Syncel. p. 73. *Εἰκιστὴ δυναστεία βασιλέων Διοσπολῶν 135, οἱ ἐβασίλευσαν ἔτη 135*

^c Ibid. p. 74. It deserves remark, that in the learned Prof. Idele's transcript of the Ancient Chronicle, Hermap. Append. p. 17. Dynasty XX is altogether omitted. The well known diligence and accuracy of the editor forbids my

presuming that the omission is accidental. In the suppression of Dynasty XXVIII, in the ordinary copies of the Ancient Chronicle, an admission is implied, that the list of the Dynasties was superabundant. Vid. Cory, Anc. Fragm. p. 90. comp. Append. No. 1. infr. Dyn. XXVIII.

^d Trans. ut supr. p. 324.

number of Dynasties is exceeded, which were uniformly limited to thirty.

Without recurring to the general division of this Chronology, as confirmed by the testimony of Eratosthenes, by which the proscribed Dynasty is excluded^e: on the evidence of Herodotus, as lately explained, it must be rejected from the number of the Dynasties, composing the royal succession. According to the chronology of Africanus, on the authority of which it must stand or fall, the era of the Olympiads commenced in the reign of Petubastes, of the XXIIIrd Dynasty^f. On taking the very shortest interval, between the first year of this king, and the last of Rhampses; the distance between them amounted to 461 years^g. It is thus plainly impossible, that the XXth Dynasty can be retained in the succession; if the epoch of the Olympiads be placed in the reign of the one, and the fall of Troy in that of the other: the interval between which, as amounting but to 407 years, fell short of the preceding above half a century. When the supernumerary Dynasty is, on the other hand, discarded, every difficulty disappears. And in perfect consistency with the two great epochs of the ancient Greek Chronology; that synchronism is verified, which, as supported by Herodotus, is exclusively sustained by historical authority.

The line of succession being thus continued from the XIXth to the XXIst Dynasty, the epoch of the

^e Vid. *supr.* p.133. *comp.* p.142. It will be obvious, on inspection, that by the insertion of 12 kings, and as many reigns extending to 135 years, (ut *supr.* n. ^b.) the

computation of Eratosthenes will be considerably exceeded.

^f African. *ap.* Syncel. p.74.

^g *Comp.* Append. N^o. 3 B. C. 1195. and 814.

latter, as taken from the close of the former, is necessarily dated from the year B. C. 1106^h. As the testimony of Africanus and Eusebius, though varying in other respects, concurs in assigning it a duration of 130 yearsⁱ, its close must be referred to the year B. C. 976. The coincidence of this date with the accession of Sesonchis, or Shishac, verifies a synchronism between the Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology^k, on which I shall particularly remark, as affecting the present question, when the occasion arrives to dilate on their extraordinary harmony. As the seven reigns, which the Dynasty comprises, must be distributed between the extremes, as already determined; the error in Africanus's computation must be corrected from the text of Eusebius. These chronologists differ in the length assigned to the second and last reigns¹; 16 years being wanting, in the sum of the whole, to complete the number of 130 years which the Dynasty is ascribed in the text of Africanus. In the computation of Eusebius they amount precisely to that sum; whose calculation consequently is not merely confirmed, in the numbers wherein the chronologists agree, but indirectly in those wherein they differ. In 5 out of 7 of the reigns they exactly coincide; in the remaining 2, the sum of the reigns, as recognised in Africanus, confirms the length assigned to them respectively in Eusebius. On the testimony of Africanus, thus accommodated to the length ascribed by him to the Dynasty; the following distribution of its reigns is founded.

^h Vid. *supr.* p. 182.

ⁱ Syncel. p. 73.

^k See *Trans.* ut *supr.* p. 336.

¹ African. (et Euseb.) ap. Syncel. *ibid.*

XXI DYNASTY.^m

7 Tanites 130 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Smedes	26	26 ...	B. C. 1106
2 Psusennes I	41	67	1080
3 Nephhercheres	4	71	1039
4 Amenophthes	9	80	1035
5 Osorcho	6	86	1026
6 Psenaches	9	95	1020
7 Psusennes II	35	130	1011
Termination			976

In the distribution of the reigns in the XXIInd and XXIIIrd Dynasties the computation of Africanus is strictly followed^a: the slight error which appears in his text,—wherein the sum of 120 years for 116, is assigned to the former,—being corrected by the number of years assigned to each reign, with which we are principally concerned. From the synchronism, between the Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology, at the epoch of the first Dynasty, on which I have lately remarked^o; the distribution of the two Dynasties which meet in the conterminous year B. C. 976, admits of the clearest confirmation.

XXII DYNASTY.^p

9 Bubastites 116 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Sesonchis (Shishac)	21	21 ...	B. C. 976
2 Osoroth	15	36	955
5 3 Kings	25	61	940
6 Tacellothis	13	74	915
9 3 Kings	42	116	902

^m African. ap. Syncel. p. 73.^o Supr. p. 187. et n. ^k.ⁿ Id. ap. eund. ibid. p. 73. 74.^p Syncel. ut supr. p. 73.

XXIII DYNASTY.^a

4 Tanites 89 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Petubastes	40	40 ...	B.C. 860
2 Osorcho	8	48	820
3 Psammus	10	58	812
4 Zet	31	89	802

On the pretended coincidence, between the epoch of the Olympiads and the 39th year of Petubastes, as bringing confirmation to the extended Chronology, I have already offered a passing observation. It may be useful to trace the synchronism, marked in Africanus's tables, to a probable source; by which it will be divested of its apparent authority, not merely in sustaining the credit of the one chronological system, but invalidating that of the other. It is, however, palpable that, to the observation of such a coincidence, that chronologist would have been *necessarily* led, from his knowledge of two most remarkable dates, of which we cannot suppose he was ignorant. He could not but know that Cambyzes ascended the Persian throne 9 years after his father Cyrus; on the time of whose accession to that throne all chronologists were agreed^r. And, of the 8 years that the son reigned, as he positively assigns him 6 over Egypt^s; he necessarily dated his accession to the throne of the latter country Ol. lxiii. 2. We have therefore only to count the length assigned by him, to the 4 preceding Dynasties; which he computes at 285 years^t; in order to ascertain the

^a Id. *ibid.* p. 74.^t Id. *ibid.* comp. Append. 3.^r Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. x. cap. 15. tom. ii. p. 200.

Dyn. XXIII—XXVI. from B. C. 814 to 529.

^s African. ap. Syncel. p. 75.

foundation of the coincidence, which is believed to confirm his Chronology. In 63 Olympiads and 2 years, there are 254 years; and as 40 years are assigned to Petubastes, his reign—as computed from the preceding time,—was necessarily included between the years 285 and 245, before the first year of Cambyses in Egypt; and thus, as the year 254 lay between these extremes, of necessity the epoch of the Olympiads was included in the reign of Petubastes.

Of the real value of this synchronism a just estimate might be formed from the effect which it appears to have had on Eusebius. He not only seems to have thought it unworthy of observation, but has disposed the following Dynasties in such a manner as in effect to disprove it^u. In bringing the epoch of the Olympiads into the succeeding Dynasty, he approaches more near to the time, in which it must have occurred, according to the present Chronology. Nor is there much room for doubt, that it would have been found in perfect consistency with the latter; had it been identified with any particular reign, or been marked by any chronological character.

In determining the length of the XXIVth Dynasty, which consisted but of a single reign; Eusebius is again followed in preference to Africanus^v. The short interval of 6 years, which he assigns to it, can be as little reconciled with the computation of the same period by Herodotus and Diodorus, as with the known distance between the accession of Sesonchis and Cambyses. In adding the XXVth Dynasty to it, in the annexed scale, it may be observed, that

^u Eus. ap. Syncel. *ibid.* p. 76.

^v *Id. ibid.*

in assigning its proper length to each reign of the latter, Africanus is strictly followed^w.

XXIV DYNASTY.

1 Saïte 44 years.

Monarch.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Bocchoris	44	44 ...	B.C. 771

XXV DYNASTY.

3 Ethiopians 40 years.

1 Sabachon	8	8 ...	B.C. 727
2 Sevechus	14	22	719
3 Tarchus (Tirhaka)	18	40	705

The testimony of Herodotus and Diodorus, as I have observed, is not to be reconciled with the short interval which is ascribed by Africanus to the antecedent of these Dynasties. By the former historian, the period between Bocchoris and Sabachon is extended^x, by the interposition of a king named Any-sis; by the latter, it is expressly declared, after noticing Bocchoris, that “after a long time, Sabachon reigned over Egypt, being by race an Ethiopian^y.” Whatever may be thought of the opinion of Herodotus; by no license of interpretation can that of Diodorus be understood, of so short a term as is ascribed to the Dynasty by Africanus. But its inadequacy to fill the space which must be allotted it in the succession, may be set in a clearer light, by taking the distance between the accession of Sesonchis and Cambyes; as determined from the external Chronology of the Hebrews and Greeks. From

^w Syncel. p. 75.

^x Herod. lib. ii. cap. 137.

^y Diod. lib. ii. p. 59. al. 41. c.

the date of the former, which cannot be brought lower than the year B. C. 975^z, to that of the latter which occurred, as was formerly proved, B. C. 527^a, there was an interval of nearly 450 years. But the collective length of the Dynasties, through which the succession was prolonged, during this interval, amounts to no more than 405 years, according to Africanus^b. The deficiency in his computation, however, amounts to the difference between the length assigned to the XXIVth Dynasty, by himself and by Eusebius. There can be therefore no ground for hesitation, in adopting the interval, which this chronologist assigns, as its just computation: more especially, as it is commensurate with the void which is created in the royal succession, by the defect in Africanus's calculation^c.

In the distribution of the reigns in the XXVIth Dynasty, I have generally followed Africanus; to whose computations, where not manifestly erroneous, respect is due, as professedly transcribed from Manetho. In computing the duration of this dynasty at 150 years^d, he has plainly reduced its length; for, as comprised between the last year of Tarchus, B. C. 687, and the first of Cambyzes over Egypt B. C. 527, it continued 10 years beyond this period. By the latter date, as determined by Diodorus, we have frequently observed, the limit is fixed, beyond which it cannot be extended^e. Africanus being assumed as a guide in the distribution of the reigns; his

^z Trans. ut supr. p. 336. comp. 529.

Chron. Can. supr. B. C. 976.

^c Vid. supr. p. 190.

^a Vid. supr. p. 141.

^d African. ut supr. p. 75. comp.

^b African. ut supr. p. 73. 75.

Append. 3. Dyn. XXVI.

comp. Append. 3. B. C. 934. and

^e Vid. supr. p. 141. n. m.

computation of the 1st 3rd, 4th, and 7th is adopted without alteration^f. On taking the 2nd reign, as fixed by Diodorus at 15 years^g, and the 6th, as fixed by Eusebius at 25 years^h, instead of 19, which Africanus assigns it; a deficiency of 3 years still remains in his computationⁱ. If so many years be added to the reign of Psammis, or Psammuthis, immediately preceding Apries, it will be raised to 9 years, and its just length of 160 years consequently restored to the Dynasty, while the error in Africanus's numbers is amended. And the correction thus applied, it will be observed, is not made on any arbitrary principle; but is exacted by the proper length of the Dynasty, which has been determined on adequate and independent evidence. It affects but two of the reigns: in computing one of which there was considerable room for diversity of opinion, as the government was shared by several rulers, who came into authority at different periods^k; while in the other, there is a positive difference between Africanus and Eusebius, who equally professed to follow, not reform, the text of Manetho. How far the remedy which has been applied, in correction of their discordant testimony, is competent to repair and reconcile it, remains to be tested by the monuments, which were inscribed in the reigns, they have so far miscomputed: and with which their testimony seems not capable of being reconciled, until it has undergone those few and necessary corrections.

^f African. ut supr. p. 75.

^g Diodor. lib. i. p. 41. d. al. 59.

^h Euseb. ut supr.

ⁱ Comp. supr. p. 142.

^k Diodor. loc. cit.

XXVI DYNASTY¹.

7 Saïtes, 160 years.

Monarchs.	Reigns.	Sum.	Date.
1 Stephinates	7	7 B. C.	687
2 Nechepsos, al. 11.....	6+9	22	680
3 Psammitichus	54	76	665
4 Necho	6	82	611
5 Psammis	9	91 ...	605
6 Apries (Hophra)	25	116	596
7 Amasis	44	160	571

In the distribution of the last four Dynasties, there is little room for discussion ; as there is no error in the computation of the reigns, which compose this part of the royal succession. Of the period of 177 years, to which it extends, the limits have been already determined, and referred to the years B. C. 527 and 350^m. Having expressed myself fully on this subject, on a former occasion ; it may be now despatched in very few words. The reigns of the native sovereigns, which compose the last three Dynasties, as computed by Africanus, so exactly accord with the main divisions of this Chronology as to require no alterationⁿ. In the disposition of the XXVIIth Dynasty, by which they are preceded, as composed of foreign princes, the Astronomical Canon is followed^o, on the accuracy of which no difference of opinion prevails among chronologists. The time when their authority ceased in Egypt,—on the determination of which, that of the succeeding monarchs' accession necessarily depends,—has been

¹ African. ut supr. n. f.^m Vid. supr. p. 143. comp. p.141. n. ¹ and ^m.ⁿ African. ut supr. p. 75. 77.

comp. Chron. Can. supr. et Append. 3. infr. Dyn. XXVIII. XXIX. XXX.

^o Trans. ut supr. p. 70.

fixed neither by Africanus nor Eusebius, who have inordinately extended the period of their rule over that country. It is, however, indirectly determined by Africanus, in assigning the last three Dynasties 64 years^p: on deducting this period, from the sum of 177 years, during which the four Dynasties continued^q; the remainder, amounting to 113 years, expresses the time, for which the Persians maintained their sway in Egypt^r. As their authority commenced B. C. 527, with the 3rd year of Cambyzes, it necessarily ceased B. C. 414^s. This year consequently forms the epoch of the XXVIIIth Dynasty; from which the succeeding reigns, until the termination of the monarchy B. C. 350, are easily determined from the length assigned to them by Africanus, after Manetho.

XXVII DYNASTY.

5 Persians, 113 years.

Monarchs.	Reigns.	Sum.	Date.
1 Cambyzes	6	6	B. C. 527
2 Darius I.	36	42	521
3 Xerxes	21	63	485
4 Artaxerxes I.	41	104	464
5 Darius II.	9	113	423

XXVIII DYNASTY.

1 Saïte 6 years.

1 Amyrtæus	6	6	414
------------------	---------	---------	-----

XXIX DYNASTY.

3 Mendesians 20 years.

1 Nephertites	6	6	408
2 Achoris	13	19	402
3 Psammuthis	1	20	389

^p African. ut supr. n. ⁿ. comp.
 Append. 3. B. C. 405 and 341.

^q Comp. supr. n. ^m.

^r Vid. supr. p. 149. comp.
 Chron. Can. supr. Dyn. XXVII.

^s Vid. ibid.

XXX DYNASTY.

3 Sebennites 38 years.

Monarchs.	Reigns.	Sum.	Date.
1 Nectanebo I.	18	18	B. C. 388
2 Tachos.....	2	20	370
3 Nectanebo II.	18	38	368
Ochus.....	—	—	350

That the subversion of the Egyptian monarchy cannot be protracted beyond the last date, admits of no reasonable doubt; although some very shallow objections have been raised to it, as determined by Diodorus^t. The event itself, whatever be the year to which it may be referred, cannot be advanced beyond the year, when Nectanebo retired from Memphis into Ethiopia, with the remnant of his army. This remarkable year was distinguished no less by his abdication of the country, than by its reduction to a mere satrapy of Persia. So complete was its subjugation, that no remnant survived of the national character, not to speak of the national independence. “Having renounced the kingdom,” as the historian observes, “Nectanebo collected the principal part of his property, and fled into Ethiopia. But Artaxerxes, having possessed himself of all Egypt, rased the walls of the principal cities: spoiled the temples, and collected a quantity of gold and silver, and carried off the records from the ancient temples, which Bagoas afterwards restored to the Egyptian priests for a large sum of money. But having rewarded those of the Greeks who fought with him with gifts, according to the deserts of each, he dismissed them to their own country; and

^t Vid. Böckh, ut supr. p. 509.

appointing Pherendates satrap of Egypt, he returned to Babylon with^u his forces^u.”

The date of this event Diodorus has fixed with no less precision, than he has described the circumstances, by which it was preceded and followed. In referring it to Ol. cvii. 3, B. C. 350^v, where we have placed it, he is followed by Eusebius, who represents Manetho as of the same opinion, inasmuch as he here closed the thirtieth and last of the native Dynasties^w. With this view of the subject, the circumstances which attended it precisely accord. According to the summary, in which he brings his Egyptian Chronology to a close, it appears that the 2nd year of Ochus over Egypt agreed with the 20th of Nectanebo^x. This statement is in the strictest

^u Diodor. lib. xvi. p. 448. al. 537.

^v Diodor. lib. xvi. p. 440. al. 532. He fixes it by the Archonship of Apollodorus; which occurred in this year; vid. Dodw. de Cycl. p. 728.

^w Euseb. Chron. The absurdity of the attempt to extend the Egyptian *monarchy* beyond the fall of the last Egyptian *monarch*, needs no exposure. Had we not been expressly assured that the Dynasties did not exceed 30; we might have reached that conclusion, from the simple consideration that those who must have a 31st, have to search for it in Persia. See Trans. ut supr. p. 324 and n. comp. supr. p. 147. n. ^x. By the blow which was struck by Ochus, Egypt was reduced to a state of depression, to which there was nothing analogous in her previous history. The authority of all antecedent

invaders, she constantly resisted, and finally reconquered her freedom: vid. supr. p. 144. conf p. 149. n. ^b. Those who think the positive assertions, comprised in the notes, here cited, are sufficiently refuted by the prolongation of the royal line, beyond the last native sovereign, in Syncellus's transcript of Africanus, altogether mistake the object of its extension. The time to which it is extended, as amounting to 1050 years, sufficiently disproves the silly assumption that it was with the view of including a 31st Dynasty in the third Tome of Manetho; the years numbered in which do not exceed 844, according to Geheimer. Böckh's comprehensive mode of computation: vid. supr. p. 26. comp. Append. 3. B. C. 1183 and 333.

^x See Trans. ut supr. p. 292. n. ¹⁷.

accordance with the preceding table of the last Dynasties; although, to justify the extension of the succession beyond the true time, the words of Manetho appear to have been deliberately altered, and have been consequently embarrassed in the structure and meaning^y. It no less accurately agrees with the circumstances of the case, than with the respective years of Ochus and Nectanebo's reign in which the monarchy ended with the succession. In about two years, from the time of Nectanebo's flight, the remnant of the army which followed him into Ethiopia, and which amounted to 60,000 men, must have dispersed, and have reduced him to a private station. In this view every thing is clear and consistent. On

^y African. ut supr. p. 77. Ὀχος εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς ἐαυτοῦ βασιλείας Περσῶν ἐβασίλευσεν Αἰγύπτου ἔτη β'. Which is thus *simplified* by Eusebius; Ὀχος εἰκοστῷ ἔτει τῆς αὐτοῦ Περσῶν βασιλείας κρατεῖ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἔτη 5'. The transfer of this observation, from Nectanebo to Ochus, is not merely apparent, in the awkward interpolation of Περσῶν, for the purpose of giving a new turn to the meaning; but in the impertinence of the remark when applied in its present form, to Ochus; and its appositeness when applied, in its obvious, unsophisticated form, to Nectanebo. With what rational object is the 20th year of Ochus singled out; or the fact recorded that he had then ruled 2 years over Egypt; when we might be at once told, without any periphrase, or one ridiculously involved, that in his 18th year he subdued

Egypt? From the recorded fact, that Nectanebo had reigned 18 years, when overcome by Ochus; it followed of course, that "in his 20th year, Ochus had reigned 2 years over Egypt:" an observation which was not without an object, if intended to inform us, when the last remnant of the Egyptian army, which retired with the king into Ethiopia, to the number of 60,000 men, was disbanded, and all pretensions to the throne thenceforth abandoned. As the reign of Ochus did not exceed 21 years; no subterfuge can be found, in evading these remarks, in the assumption that he conquered Egypt in his 20th year and then reigned 2 years, much less 6, over that country; which meaning, if reconcilable with the text, would agree as little with the declaration of Africanus, as of Eusebius.

the contrary, the presumed sense, in which it is implied, that Ochus, having reigned 20 years over Persia, then conquered and continued for 2 years king of Egypt, cannot be reconciled with the length of his reign or the date of his conquest.

An abortive effort has been indeed made to disprove the date, assigned by Diodorus to the fall of the monarchy, from a passage in the address of Isocrates to Philip, which was composed in the year B. C. 347^z. By two scholars of the hopeful school,—which gives a due preference to the speculative over the real, in history and chronology,—it has been decided that the manner in which the orator has spoken of the impression made by Ochus upon Egypt, is not to be reconciled with the date which is ascribed to his subjugation of it by the historian.

Those who are only accustomed to admit matter of fact on positive evidence; are not likely to receive it, as proved by wild speculations. When we consider the general object which Isocrates had in view in addressing himself to Philip,—and the particular object which led him to distinguish two of the Persian monarchs^a;—it will be difficult to conceive, how an

^z The thin muster of authorities against Diodorus, it has been found convenient to swell with the *names* at least of Demosthenes, and Speusippus; Böckh ut supr. p. 509. sq. The latter is, indeed, soon abandoned, though somewhat reluctantly, by the critic; who needed not to be told, that Demosthenes, likewise, as writing the year before the disputed date, could be no witness for or against any thing that sub-

sequently happened. The entire weight of his case thus rests upon a single witness; as he admits in summing up; “Indessen entscheidet die Stelle des Isokrates vollständig gegen Diodor und Eusebios.” Id. ib. p. 511.

^a On both points, Isocrates has fully explained his own meaning. His main object was to unite the Greeks, and direct their combined force against the Persians; *Μέλλω γάρ σοι συμβουλεύειν, παραστήναι*

allusion to the subversion of Egypt could have found a place in his address, or how the omission of it can be tortured into a proof that it had not then happened. Of the two expeditions, undertaken against Egypt by Ochus, the purpose of the orator limited him strictly to the mention of the earlier; but he treats of it in that exclusive manner, which plainly implies, that he was aware the later had happened^b. In particularising Idrieus, by whose counsel it would seem, that it had been undertaken with so much success; his allusion to it is sufficiently

τῆς τε Ἑλλήνων ὁμονοίας, καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς Βαρβάρους στρατείας . . . Ἡ μὲν οὖν περιβολὴ τοῦ λόγου παντὸς ταύτῃ τίς ἐστιν. Op. vol. i. p. 236. ed. Bat. His object, in mentioning Ochus, and his father Artaxerxes, was to disclose their intentions and power; "Ἀξιὸν δὲ μνησθῆναι καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, ἐφ' ὃν σοί τε συμβουλευόμεν στρατεύειν, καὶ πρὸς ὃν Κλέαρχος ἐπολέμησεν, ὃν ἑκατέρου καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δύναμιν εἰδῆς. Ibid. p. 279. Two expeditions had been undertaken, by Ochus, against Egypt, according to Diodorus: lib. xvi. cap. 40. p. 531. al. 439. In the first, he merely, or mainly, depended on his own skill and resources; and totally failed. In the last he found the Greeks opposed to the Greeks, and having gained them over, through the intrigues and stratagems of their countryman Mentor, subdued the kingdom solely by their exertions. On the first of these exploits, as directly in his favor, the orator artfully fastens, in his endeavor to

persuade Philip, to engage in the project which he recommended. He designedly overlooks the last, which, even a schoolboy must see, was so wholly beside his purpose, that it might be effectually turned against him: of which he has elsewhere shewn, he had reason to be apprehensive; Panegy. p. 191.

^b In opening the testimony which we are told, "decides so completely against Diodorus and Eusebius;" the orator commences with these words: Αἴγυπτος γὰρ ἀφεστήκει μὲν καὶ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον. Böckh, *ibid.* p. 510. As some other time is here undoubtedly alluded to, besides that to which Isocrates directly refers; and which, it is on all sides agreed, was that in which *the first* expedition of Ochus was undertaken, and had failed: may we ask, what other time can be tacitly meant, but that in which *the last* was undertaken with a contrary issue?

obvious^c. And he describes the power and disposition of the maritime states towards Persia, as in that condition, which they had only attained, in consequence of the last expedition against Egypt; a condition which had not existed before that expedition had so fully succeeded^d.

In a word, the different manner in which the Persians are mentioned by Isocrates in "the Panegyric" and "the address to Philip," conveys a sufficient proof, that such a revolution in the Egyptian affairs,

^c Previously to the second expedition of Ochus against Egypt, and during the whole of it, he found a faithful ally in Idrieus prince of Caria: Diodor. ib. cap. 42. p. 530. al. 440. The dependence expressed by Isocrates, on his defection from the interests of the Persian king, (ibid. p. 280.) though not to be reconciled with this state of amity between them; may be easily comprehended, if understood with reference to the unprecedented atrocities committed by Ochus, in the course of that expedition: Diod. ib. cap. 45. p. 534. al. 443. On the supposition that Isocrates wrote, before these atrocities had been perpetrated, every thing is inexplicable; on the contrary supposition, every thing is perfectly clear and consistent.

^d We know little more of the first expedition of Ochus against Egypt, than that it was undertaken, with a large armament, and was a complete failure; Diod. ib. cap. 40. p. 531. al. 439. In the passage of Isocrates, which is before us, and which confessedly

relates to it, we are informed, that "Cyprus, Phenicia and Cilicia, and every country that had a navy, was with the king." But in allusion to the time at which he wrote, Isocrates in continuation, thus observes to Philip; "but now, *νῦν δ'*, some have revolted, and some are so far involved in war, or reduced to distress, that none of those nations can be serviceable to him, but will join you, if you wish to attack him." This description is altogether irreconcilable with the state of those maritime powers, antecedently to their reduction to submission just before the second expedition; previous to which, they were leagued, in open rebellion, with Nectanebo, against the Persian monarch; Diod. ib. cap. 41. p. 531. al. 439. But it perfectly accords with the condition to which they were reduced, by it; when they were committed to Mentor, with full authority to put down those revoltors, who might seek to regain their former independence: Id. ib. cap. 52. p. 537. al. 449.

as Diodorus asserts, had really occurred, between the times when those treatises were respectively written. The similarity of the object, which the author had in view, in composing both of them, he has expressly admitted^e; and, on both occasions, it required him equally to detract from the powers and pretensions of the enemy, against whom he wished to unite his countrymen and direct their combined operations. The difference in his manner of urging the same cause^f, is at once detected in the second, or successful expedition of Ochus against Egypt; by which the orator's previous arguments had been practically refuted. The Persians had in fact adopted the very plan which he proposed to the Athenians, in "the Panegyric;" and had not only united the Greeks, on their own side, but had detached them from that of their adversaries. Had they not successfully pursued this policy, "the address to Philip" would have been wholly without an object; and, if at all undertaken, would have been sustained by the same arguments. As at all attempted, and in a different strain, for which the intermediate subjugation of Egypt so fully accounts; it conveys a sufficient proof that the event had intervened, and has been accurately dated, by Diodorus.

Instead, consequently, of deducing, from this address of Isocrates, a proof of the inaccuracy of Diodorus, in fixing the time of the subjugation of Egypt; we have indirect but conclusive evidence, in the date of the former, that the date of the latter has been accurately determined. Admitting it, as established on the unimpeachable evidence of the

^e Isocrat. ad Philip. p. 276.

^f Conf. Paneg. p. 197. 200. seq. ad Phil. p. 279. seq.

historian; we derive from it a proof, not merely of the error but the absurdity of the attempt, to transfer the downfall of the Egyptian monarchy from the 10th to the 20th year of Ochus. In which this further inconsistency is implied, besides others which might be easily suggested, that at the latter time, Idrieus had long been dead^g; although he is mentioned by Isocrates, as disposed to take a contrary part to that which he evinced, before the expedition which, if he did not plan, he promoted, and which proved so fatal to the Egyptians.

^g Idrieus, having succeeded his sister Artemisia, Ol. cvii. 3. B. C. 350. occupied the throne of Caria 7 years, until Ol. cix. 2. B. C. 343: the assistance rendered by him to Ochus, was at the commencement of his reign: Diod. ut supr. cap. 45. p. 534. al. 443. cap. 53. p. 538. al. 450. According to Geheimer. Böckh's chronology, he rendered this service three years after he was dead; Ol. cx. 1. B. C. 340: in which year this profound chronologist places the conquest of Egypt: see Append. 3. B. C. 340. In disposing of these objections, the Geheimerath will doubtless remove the difficulties which still remain, respecting Isocrates' *silence*, concerning Nectanebo and his kingdom;—if we must admit Diodorus to be wrong, in representing them at this time, as extinguished by Ochus. If the Geheimerath's dates be entitled to respect, or can be regarded with seriousness; the king of Egypt

must have been able, when Isocrates wrote, to bring an army of 80,000 men into the field, of which 20,000 were Greeks; Diod. lib. xvi. cap. 47; and to collect a formidable navy, as appears from the effective assistance which he rendered the Phenicians against the Persian. Conf. Diodor. *ibid.* cap. 42. p. 532. al. 440. Surely a monarch, who shared the hostile feelings of the orator, against a common enemy, was entitled to a little notice: *vid.* Diod. *ib.* p. 438. al. 531. May we, in conclusion, beg of these solemn triflers, to inform us, on which of the following points, this silence of Isocrates is the more inexplicable; *the power* of Nectanebo, on supposing that he wrote *before* the second expedition of Ochus; or *its destruction*, on supposing that he wrote *after* it? I conceive I have explained the latter; of the former, I should be grateful to receive a rational explanation.

SECT. IV.

The contemporaneous Dynasties determined, and distributed in accordance with the preceding grand Divisions of the Chronology.

IT might be concluded from the manner in which the kings of Egypt were registered, if it were not apparent from an inspection of the royal succession, that no idea could be formed of the direct monarchical line, from an inspection of any collection of Dynasties. That the registers, from which they were transcribed, were kept in different cities, may be inferred from the titles prefixed to them, in which the governors are distinguished as Thinites or Thebans, as Xoite or Memphites. Each of the cities possessed its registrar^a, whose business it was to keep the records, in which the names of the magistrates were enrolled; from the years of whose government, the date was affixed to public or private documents. As the lists, thus composed by different persons, and in different places, were transcribed into such compilations, as the Tomes of Manetho, or the Turin Papyrus; they would necessarily assume the form of a collection of contemporaneous, rather than that of a line of successive, sovereigns. Into the former promiscuous state, they would regularly fall, by the mere act of transcription. How they could assume the latter digested form, considering the various and distant sources from which they were derived, and the different lengths to which they respectively extended, does not seem to admit of

^a Letronne, Recherch. pour serv. à l'hist. de l'Egypte. p. 398.

an easy explanation. While these obstacles stand in the way, the assumption that such compilations form an uninterrupted succession, is not merely without proof, but is opposed to probability. Until the difficulty is overcome, they can be of little use, in the construction of a system of Chronology; as composed of a promiscuous collection.

I. When the rank and office of the governors, who are enrolled in those Dynasties, are thoroughly understood; the expediency of arranging them in a subordinate class to the monarchical will be still more obvious. Those who invest them with sovereign authority seem wholly to overlook the distinction between the ennobled persons who enjoyed the supremacy, and who filled a subordinate office. However the difference is overlooked or confounded in the lists of the Dynasties, in compiling which, the collector aimed at increasing the importance and raising the antiquity of the monarchy; by extending the line of the sovereign rulers; the line will be found on examination to be sufficiently broad and decided by which they are separated. The supreme and the petty governor were, in fact, distinguished no less by their titles, than by the splendor of their insignia and the extent of their dominion.

The name of king (*βασιλεύς*), and potentate (*δυνάστης*), by which they are indiscriminately called, did not necessarily signify a person invested with supreme authority. In the neighbouring countries, which owed a common allegiance, with Egypt, to the Persian king, at the time when the list of the Dynasties was completed, if not reduced to order; the viceroys were dignified with the title, and affected the state of sovereigns. In Cyprus, which

paid submission to Artaxerxes Ochus, there were nine cities under rulers who bore the title of king and potentate^b. The observation equally applies to Phenice; which owed the same allegiance, and in which, the name and rank of king had been assumed by the Sufetes, from the earliest period^c. To confine ourselves, however, more immediately to Egypt; in the compilations of Manetho and others, no humbler titles are given to the magistrates, no lower name than Dynasty (*δυναστεία*) to the succession. But these names are expressly given to the rulers of the nomes^d; of whom no doubt can be entertained that they possessed no rank superior to the viceregal. Polybius so terms the nomarchs, who revolted against Ptolemy Philometor; to whom there is a plain allusion in the inscription of the Rosetta Tablet^e. The accounts which we have received of the assembling of those magistrates in the Labyrinth, where they had a court allotted to their deliberations; would serve of itself to account for the multiplication of the Egyptian monarchs^f. To

^b Diod. lib. xvi. cap. 42. p. 532. al. 440. Ἐν γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ πόλεις ἦσαν ἀξιόλογοι μὲν ἐννέα . . . ἐκάστη δὲ εἶχε βασιλεία.

^c Kluge in Arist. de Pol. Carthag. p. 89. "Sunt enim qui existiment, nomen βασιλείας commune fuisse Sufetibus cum belliducibus, et sæpissime summum imperatorem hoc titulo describi et ornari."

^d Diodor. lib. i. cap. 66. p. 59. al. 41. Φαρμῆτιχος ὁ Σαίτης εἰς ὧν τῶν δώδεκα βασιλέων . . . διὰ δὲ ταῦτα φασὶ φθονήσαντας αὐτῷ τοὺς ἄλλους βασιλεῖς.

^e Druman, Untersuch. supr. cit. p. 180. "Die Aegypter welche unter Philopator zuerst Waffen gegen die Regierung ergriffen und sich in Licopolis warfen, bei Polybius, οἱ δυνάσται τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. Letronne, Recueil des Inscr. de l'Egypt. p. 291, in quoting these last words, thus renders and observes on them; "Chefs des Egyptiens, probablement les chefs politiques des nomes, qui s'étaient révoltés contre le roi." Conf. Polyb. lib. xxiii. cap. 15. tom. iv. p. 279. ed. Schw.

^f Strabo, lib. xvii. tom. ii. p.

the place of council, a name was applied, analogous to palace; and the title of king expressly given to the assessors, who there held their councils^g.

In later times, at least, the monarch of Egypt had a higher and exclusive title. He was termed the great king, the king of kings, the lord of diadems^h. He differed also from the king, or dynastes, in his insignia no less than his dominion. It was his prerogative to wear a tiara, decorated with an aspⁱ; which assumed the form of a double diadem, to mark the extension of his dominion over entire Egypt^k: in accordance with which, he was termed the king of the upper and lower country^l. These honors were not shared with his viceroys, who wore a coronet with different decorations, and were ascribed a commensurate dominion^m.

There is, consequently, no ground whatever for concluding, from the insertion of the names of those magistrates in the lists of the Dynasties, that they constituted a part of the monarchical succession. Those which are excluded from the monarchical line should be regarded, on the contrary, as an order

1149. Ox. "Ἔστι δὲ . . . ἐπίπεδόν τι τραπεζῶδες χορίον ἔχον κώμην τε καὶ βασιλειον μέγα ἐκ πολλῶν βασιλέων ὅσοι πρότερον ἦσαν νομοί.

^g Id. *ibid*.

^h Inscr. Roset. Gr. l. 3. Μέγας βασιλεὺς τῶν τε ἄνω καὶ τῶν κάτω χωρῶν. Cf. Inscr. Adul. Diod. lib. i. p. 51. al. 35. d. βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, δεσποτῆς δεσποτῶν. Inscr. Ros. l. 1. κύριος βασιλείων.

ⁱ Inscr. Roset. l. 43. τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως χρυσὰς βασιλείας δέκα αἷς προκείται ἀσπίς. *Ibid*. l. 44. τῶν ἀσπιδοειδῶν βασιλείων. Cf. Dio-

dor. lib. iii. p. 145. al. 101. Ælian. Nat. An. vi. 38.

^k Inscr. Roset. l. 44. ἡ καλουμένη βασιλεία ποσχέντ ἦν περιθέμενος εἰσηλθεν εἰς τὸ ἐν Μέμφει ἱερόν. Conf. Diod. *ut* *supr*.

^l Vid. *supr*. n. ^h.

^m Diodor. lib. i. p. 62. Ἐν ἔθει εἶναι τοῖς κατ' Αἴγυπτον δυνάσταις περιτίθεσθαι περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν λεόντων καὶ ταύρων καὶ δρακόντων προτομὰς, σημεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς. He elsewhere describes the monarch's diadem, as distinguished by the asp: lib. iii. p. 145. *ut* *supr*.

of rulers, essentially different from the supreme; and be accordingly disposed, in a different succession, as exercising a subordinate function. In the earlier period of the monarchy, the sovereign authority was, without doubt, shared among a number of those potentates, who from enjoying an equality, in power and dominion, might have deemed themselves equally entitled to submission and honor. We have seen sufficient evidence for concluding, from a comparative view of the lists of Eratosthenes and Manetho, that many of the royal catalogues are composed of contemporary sovereigns^a. As the names of the viceroys were necessarily enrolled in the registers of those cities, where they held their court; complete lists of the chief rulers were prepared for the purpose of those, who might undertake to form a complete list of the Dynasties. Such a task had been undertaken, by the priests, as early as the times of Herodotus; by whom the historian was shown a catalogue of kings, amounting to 330^o. From a calculation, of the probable amount of the successions in the Turin Papyrus, it would appear that they consisted very nearly of the same number^p. As those contained in the Tomes of Manetho fall far short of that sum; we must consequently conclude either that his catalogue is miserably defective, or that it contained but a selection of the more important. It so far serves to establish the general principle for which I contend;—that those lists included many Dynasties, besides those which composed the monarchical succession, respecting which we are chiefly concerned.

^a Vid. supr. p. 34.

^o Herod. lib. ii. cap. 36.

^p Birch, *Observ. on the Hier. Canon.* p. 2.

One other circumstance is particularly deserving of remark, as tending to confirm the preceding observations. Those Dynasties, which appear to be contemporaneous and subordinate, as distinguished from the Theban succession, are of an earlier date than that of the XVIIIth; for we must conclude them to be earlier, from the high place assigned them in the *Tomes of Manetho*; if we are to regard his work, as at all intended to dispose the kings of Egypt in any order. Before the establishment of that Dynasty in authority, on the expulsion of the Phenician, it would appear, the supremacy had not been attained by a particular line of monarchs. After that time, there are no contemporary claimants, for the sovereign authority. While all those Dynasties are observed to have preceded it; whose place in the succession, in consequence of their equivocal rank, it is not easy to determine.

What was regarded as the royal succession at Thebes, where the XVIIIth Dynasty fixed the seat of their dominion, may be taken on the authority of *Eratosthenes*. After the selection of that city, as the metropolis of Egypt, it would be naturally an object with the ruling monarch, that the line of descent should be deduced through his direct ancestors. In compliance with these prejudices, the registers in the royal archives were doubtless framed; which supplied the best or only authorities, which the Greek chronologist could follow in his compilations. But these prejudices were common to the natives of lower and upper Egypt. In accordance with them, the succession was liable to be traced, through a line of Memphites, by the priests or ge-

nealogists, who shared not the prejudices of their southern compatriots, and could discover no ground of preference for Thebans, in the ambiguous claims of the early sovereigns. Thus, it would appear, those Dynasties, which swell the catalogues of Manetho, and Africanus, have been drawn out of the obscurity to which they would have been otherwise consigned; whose claims to the honor of having supplied Egypt with monarchs, in an age of which nothing certain was known, were probably not inferior to those of their rivals, who were more fortunate in having their claims acknowledged.

II. On following the course which is suggested by Eratosthenes^q, these supernumerary Dynasties may be easily reduced into order. When such of them as correspond with the *Laterculum*, in retaining the names of the more distinguished monarchs^r, are disposed in a separate line; the remainder, which are few in number, may be similarly disposed, in a third succession. And as both these lines, like that of Eratosthenes, are deducible from the first year of Menes; they admit of an easy distribution between the epoch of the monarchy and the first year of the XVIIIth Dynasty; which prescribed the limit, beyond which the line of monarchs cannot be extended^s. We have only to place them in the order, in which they occur in Manetho, assigning to each reign the number of years, which it is ascribed by that chronologist. Had we no other evidence, we might conclude from the documents which have descended to our times, that he must have had

^q Vid. *supr.* p. 30. sq.

^r Vid. *supr.* p. 32.

^s Vid. *supr.* p. 116. cf. p. 141.

access to such extracts from the registers, as were seen by Herodotus, and copied by Eratosthenes.

On viewing the comparative list, of the principal monarchs in Eratosthenes and Manetho, which is inserted in an antecedent part of this work^t, those Dynasties, in which it was supposed the royal Memphite line was continued, may be at once discovered. It will be directly perceived, on inspecting it, that they are those numbered as the Ist, IVth, VIth and XIIth in Manetho; which are distinguished among the others, as possessing the names of Menes, Suphis, Mencheres, Nitocris and Amenemes. To these four the VIIIth must be added, as composed of Memphites, though it is not directly identified by a similar coincidence: for, as the name of no monarch in this Dynasty has been preserved, none can be traced between it and the correspondent part of the Theban succession. On the indirect testimony of Eratosthenes, the breach in the succession may be, however, repaired. If no Dynasty be supposed to intervene, Nitocris and Amenemes will follow each other, with the intervention of a single reign; while, on supposing the VIIIth interposed, they will be separated, as we find them in the *Laterculum*. In adopting the interval which is assigned to it as necessary to the completion of the royal line; I have taken it, for reasons which are given elsewhere^u on the computation of Eusebius, in preference to that of Africanus. For, it may be necessary to observe, the latter chronologist is followed in the distribution of the other Dynasties of the succession.

^t Vid. supr. p. 32.

^u Vid. supr. p. 34. n. °.

I DYNASTY.^v

8 Thinites 253 years.

	Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Accession.
1	Menes	62	62 ...	B.C. 2673
2	Athothes	57	119	2611
3	Cencenes	31	150	2554
4	Venephes	23	173	2523
5	Usaphedus	20	193	2500
6	Miebedus	16	209	2480
7	Semempsis	18	227	2464
8	Bienaches	26	253	2446

IV DYNASTY.^w

8 Memphites 274 years.

1	Soris	29	29 ...	B.C. 2420
2	Suphis I	63	92	2391
3	Suphis II	56	148	2328
4	Mencheres	63	211	2272
5	Rhatæses	25	236	2209
6	Bicheres	22	258	2184
7	Sebercheres ...	7	265	2162
8	Thamphthis	9	274	2155

VI DYNASTY.^x

6 Memphites 203 years.

1	Othoes	36	36 ...	B.C. 2146
2	Phius	53	89	2110
3	Methusuphis ..	7	96	2057
4	Phiops	94	190	2050
5	Menthesuphis ..	1	191	1956
6	Nitocris	12	203	1943

^v African. ut supr. p. 54. comp.
Chron. Can. supr. 2 Success. dyn.

dyn. 2. 3 Append. B. C. 4933.

1. 3 Append. infr. B. C. 5702.

^x African. ut supr. p. 58. comp.
Chron. Can. 2 Success. dyn. 6.

^w African. ut supr. p. 56. comp.
Chron. Can. supr. 2 Success.

3 Append. B. C. 4402.

VIII DYNASTY.^y

5 Memphites 100 years.

5 Kings 100 100 1931

Terminates 1831

As the XIIth Dynasty, with which the succession ended, B. C. 1711, consists of Theban kings, the determination of its place in the royal line, and its distribution into reigns, belongs more immediately to the Theban succession. It has been consequently examined elsewhere^z; and will be more particularly considered, when the monumental evidence comes under consideration. The disturbed state of the kingdom, when its sovereigns held the throne, occasioned many changes in the succession, the knowledge of which can be now only acquired from ancient inscriptions. By the assistance of these, it admits of an accurate distribution, as will be practically shown, when the subject comes under investigation.

On comparing the preceding succession, as thus conducted through the Memphite line, with that conducted through the Theban^a; the impracticability of reconciling Manetho with Eratosthenes, may be readily acknowledged. The different intervals, at which the principal kings are placed, and the length ascribed to their respective reigns, preclude the possibility of their being approximated, much less identified, as different lists of the same succession. The utmost that can be derived from their comparative testimony are a few plain, though indirect indica-

^y Euseb. ap. Syncel. p. 59.
conf. Chron. Can. ^z Success.
dyn. 8,

^z Vid. supr. p. 172.

^a Vid. supr. p. 156. 166.

tions, that the Chronology of the Egyptians was not ancient, and far from certain, beyond a very late period. Of much of this uncertainty we have traced the probable cause, in the divided nature of the government, before the kingdom was reduced under the dominion of one monarch. Much of it, without doubt, arose from the disagreement of the registers, kept in different cities; which were liable to vary, as the same king, or potentate, extended his authority over different regions. As far as respected the earlier and darker period, these records were, without doubt, filled up, according to the caprice, or conjectures of the scribes and genealogists. Of a few more remarkable epochs, they certainly retained a knowledge; but they appear to have been derived from a source which was foreign and adventitious. It is but reasonable, however, to conclude, that those records which were preserved at Thebes, were most deserving of respect; and there is evidence, which is of the most remote antiquity^b, that such documents were there deposited, from the earliest ages. Here Eratosthenes very judiciously applied for information^c; and we have no inconclusive evidence

^b From a hieroglyphic inscription on the ceiling of the Memnionium, to which I shall have occasion to refer more particularly hereafter, it appears that writings which laid claim to an immemorial antiquity were repositied in that temple. Comp. Wilkins, Thebes. p. 27. Diodor. lib. i. p. 45. al. 31. d.

^c Syncellus, by whom the *Laticululum* of Theban monarchs has been preserved, states, in the

following terms, the sources from whence Eratosthenes derived it: Chronogr. p. 147. *Ἐν τὰ ὀνόματα Ἐρατοσθένους, λαβὼν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Διοσπόλει ἱερογραμματέων, παρέφρασεν ἐξ Αἰγυπτίας εἰς Ἑλλάδα φωνήν*: cf. p. 91. This account is confirmed alike, by relics similar to the Turin Papyrus, which prove that documents, such as Eratosthenes is said to have inspected, really existed in his times; and by the agreement of

of the judgment, with which he performed the task that he essayed, in his rejection of the distinction of dynasties, in tracing the royal succession. In having access to the highest sources of information, he enjoyed the best opportunities of inquiry; we may therefore rely with most safety on his decisions.

From the conclusions which he was enabled to form of the succession, it would appear that from Menes to Maris, (or from the commencement of the 1st Dynasty to the close of the XIIth, of Manetho,) it had continued for about 962 years, under 34 monarchs^d. In this statement, which allows about 28 years to a descent, there is nothing contrary to the course of nature; and in agreeing with the generations in the Tablet of Abydos, it has the support of the highest monumental evidence. Its general agreement with the computation of Manetho, however it may differ from it in the details, is no less remarkable. In the five dynasties, through which, as we have just seen, the Memphite succession was conducted, he numbered 963 years, and 34 sovereigns^e; a coincidence, for which some other cause must be sought than chance or management.

III. In disposing the remaining Dynasties, which require distribution, the evidence is far from being equally conclusive, that they were intended to form an uninterrupted succession. Some doubt might indeed be felt, from the manner in which the Egyptian records were kept, whether they should be regarded as more than extracts from different

his interpretations of the royal names, with the vernacular language, as preserved in the Coptic: *conf. supr. p. 40. n. b.*

^d Vid. *supr. p. 156, 166. comp. Chron. Can. Success. 1.*

^e Vid. *supr. p. 212. sq. comp. Chron. Can. Success. 2.*

registers, which had no common bond of connexion. As they have been, however, incorporated in the work of Manetho, and there contribute to prolong the royal line; they may be perhaps disposed in that form, in preference to any other. In this conclusion we may the rather acquiesce, as they may be deduced from the founder of the monarchy, as perpetuating the Thinite line of which he formed the head; and preserve a sufficient degree of conformity to the Theban and Memphite lines, in the number of the kings, and the years for which they governed. For it is somewhat remarkable that it nearly agrees with them, as it assigns 987 years to 35 monarchs, ascribing about the same number of years to a like number of generations^f. The difference between it and them will appear perfectly insignificant, from the difficulty of determining, to a reign, where the succession ended in times of confusion and anarchy.

With respect to the formation of a separate line of sovereigns who reigned at This,—as Abydos was anciently termed;—it appears to have arisen from the rivalry which prevailed between the two great cities, which formed the metropolis of upper and lower Egypt. The succession of native sovereigns had been plainly interrupted at Memphis, during the usurpation of the Phenicians. It would, therefore, seem that this publication of a line, which continued to rule in the upper country, and was at the same time distinct from the Theban, which never became wholly extinct, was conceived in rivalry to the latter, and was intended to lower or disprove their exclusive pretensions. In that ancient city,

^f Vid. *supr.* p. 215.

where the tablet termed from it was erected, the shadow of royal authority was preserved, in one or two families, when the dominion of the Phenicians was absolute, in the lower country. And a relative importance would be acquired by it, during the time of its subjugation, when the sovereign authority became depressed from its division among two or three dynasties.

In disposing the annexed Dynasties in a regular succession, the intervals are adopted from the computations of Africanus, and applied, as heretofore, to the historical epoch, as determined in a preceding section^g. As the first Dynasty has been already distributed into reigns, it is unnecessary to repeat them on the present occasion.

I DYNASTY^h.

8 Thinites 253 years B. C. 2673

II DYNASTYⁱ.

9 Thinites 302 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Bochus	38	38	B. C. 2420
2 Cæachus	39	77	2382
3 Binothris	47	124	2343
4 Tlas	17	141	2296
5 Sethenes	41	182	2279
6 Cheres	17	199	2238
7 Nephercheres	25	224	2221
8 Sesochris	48	272	2196
9 Ceneres	30	302	2148

^g Vid. supr. p. 132.

^h Vid. supr. p. 212. n. v.

ⁱ African. ut supr. p. 55. comp.

Chron. Can. supr. 3 Success.
dyn. 2. 3 Append. infr. B. C.

5449.

III DYNASTY^k.

9 Memphites 214 years.

Monarchs.	Reigns.	Sum.	Date.
1 Nacherochis	28	28	B. C. 2118
2 Tosorthrus	29	57	2090
3 Tyris	7	64	2061
4 Mesochris	17	81	2054
5 Soïphis	16	97	2037
6 Tosertasis	19	116	2021
7 Achis.....	42	158	2002
8 Sephuris	30	188	1960
9 Cerpheres	26	214	1930

V DYNASTY^l.

9 Elephantines 218 years.

1 Usercheres	28	28	B. C. 1904
2 Sephres	13	41	1876
3 Nephcheres	20	61	1863
4 Sisiris	7	68	1843
5 Cheres	20	88	1836
6 Rathuris	44	132	1816
7 Mercheres	9	141	1772
8 Thercheres	44	185	1763
9 Obnus	33	218	1719
Termination.....			1686

In the above successions, which are respectively termed from Memphis, and This, as most probably copied out of the registers, kept in those cities; all the kings are included, whose names are preserved in Africanus's transcript from Manetho. They con-

^k African. ib. p. 56. comp.
Chron. Can. supr. 3 Success.
dyn. 3. 3 Append. infr. B. C.

^l African. ib. p. 57. comp.
Chron. Can. 3 Success. dyn. 5.
3 Append. infr. B. C. 4650.

sequently comprise the whole of those which deserve any notice in a system of Chronology; which is limited to the consideration of real persons and events, or such at least as were so reputed. Besides those Dynasties, others are numbered by those chronologists, of which they have transmitted nothing more worthy of remark than that they continued so many years, under so many monarchs. These anonymous reigns are included between that part of the succession which extends from the IXth to the XVIth Dynasty, inclusive^m, the VIIth remaining unnoticed, as not having lasted a yearⁿ, and the VIIIth being admitted into the succession, as necessary to fill up the void between this Dynasty and the XIIth, or XVIIth, as it should be rather termed^o. From the immediate connexion of the last named Dynasty with the XVIIIth, a proof has been deduced that the five intermediate Dynasties were merely contemporaneous with the lineal monarchs^p. The rank, thus ascribed to them, would consign them to merited oblivion; had not the bann been virtually passed upon them, by those who deemed the names of those kings not worth preserving, most probably as having merely filled this subordinate station^q. Under the same interdict, the antecedent Dynasties, numbered as the IXth, Xth and XIth have been placed^r; against the two first of which the further presumption lies, that they exercised their authority at Heracleopolis, which seems not to have been the seat of dominion.

^m African. ut sup. p. 59, 61.

^p Vid. sup. p. 32.

ⁿ Id. ut sup. p. 59.

^q Vid. Trans. ut sup. p. 350.

^o Vid. sup. p. 211. comp. and n. 240.

^r Vid. ibid.

IV. The Dynasty of Phenicians alone remains to be considered, whose rule commenced, about the time when the Memphite and Thinite succession ceased^s; to the suspension or termination of which, their usurpation of the sovereign authority mainly contributed. This alien Dynasty, which is numbered as the XVth by Africanus, and the XVIIth by Eusebius^t, appears, from a computation of the time assigned to their domination, to have possessed themselves of Egypt during the inglorious reign of the VIIIth Dynasty, with which and the XIIth they were, of course, contemporaneous. According to the computation of Manetho, as reported by Josephus, they continued 259 years, under 6 sovereigns^u. As we learn, on the same authority, that their dominion ceased with the 5th year of Tethmosis, as he miscalls Amosis; or 25 years before the close of his reign^v. On taking this year, as identified with that B. C. 1619^w, the succession may be arranged, from this date, by a retrogressive computation. In the following Table, the reigns are calculated in this manner, at the rate ascribed to them by the Jewish historian. But in compliance with the transcript, made by Africanus from Manetho^x, the reign of Janias is immediately subjoined to that of Apachnas: the grounds of this preference will be disclosed in a future part of this discussion.

^s Vid. *supr.* p. 171.

^v Id. *ibid.* p. 1041. b.

^t Vid. Syncel. *ut supr.* p. 61.

^w Vid. *supr.* p. 180.

^u Joseph. *contr.* Apion. p.

^x African. *ut supr.* p. 61.

XV DYNASTY^y.

6 Phenicians 259 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Sum.	Date.
1 Salatis	19	19	B. C. 1878
2 Beon	44	63	1859
3 Apachnas	36	99	1815
4 Janias	50	149	1779
5 Apophis.....	61	210	1729
6 Aseth	49	259	1668
Terminates			1619

Manetho,—if not mistated, as I believe to be the case, by Josephus,—computes 393 years from *the expulsion* of the Phenicians to the flight of Danaus to Argos^z. Diodorus concurs with this testimony only so far as it identifies the emigration of the Egyptians to Greece, with the final expulsion of the Phenicians^a. The bare circumstances of the case would, therefore, induce us to conclude, that the computation of the former interval should be made *to* the time of their departure and not *from* it, as now appears in Josephus. Diodorus is, in fact, explicit in declaring, that the Egyptians emigrated, in consequence of being expelled the country^b: it is indeed inconceivable, on any other grounds, that the date of the departure of the Phenicians from Egypt should be computed by that of the settlement of Danaus in Argos, which have no other perceptible connexion. The same conclusion is compelled by the interval of

^y African. ut supr. p. 61. comp. Chron. Can. supr. 2 Success. dyn. 15. 3 Append. B. C. 2107,

^z Joseph. contr. Apion. p. 1041. g.

^a Diod. lib. xl. Ecl. i. p. 921. conf. lib. i. p. 24. al. 7.

^b Id. Ecl. loc. cit. Εὐθὺς οὖν

ξενηλατομένων τῶν ἀλλοεθνῶν, οἱ μὲν ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ δραστικώτατοι ἐξεῤῥίψησαν, ὥς τινές φασι, εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, καὶ τινας ἐτέρους τόπους, ἔχοντας ἀξιολόγους ἡγεμόνας, ὧν ἡγοῦντο Δαναὸς καὶ Κάδμος τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιφανέστατοι.

393 years, which Josephus computes from the expulsion of the usurpers to the colonization of Argos, and which must have occurred, at the latest, in the reign of Sethosis, or Sethos. From the former event to the end of the XVIIIth Dynasty, according to the calculation of Manetho, there were but 333 years; and, on including the reign of that king, who stands at the head of the XIXth Dynasty, but 384 years, which fall far short of the 393 of Josephus. It is not merely idle, but absurd, to pretend that this interval should be extended, by stretching the 9th and 11th reigns of the former Dynasty, respectively, from 9 to 39 years^c; if the monuments confirmed the correction, which does not appear to be the case; it would be wholly beside the purpose; as the shorter term is expressly ascribed to those reigns by Manetho, on whom our conclusions are founded^d.

1. These inconsistencies, however, are at once reconciled, on computing the interval of 393 years, *from* the sovereign authority of the Phenicians, *to* their final expulsion, at the date of the migration of Danaus. And that this is the true computation will I think be allowed, when it is known, that on thus calculating that interval, from the epoch of the former event, which occurred under Salatis, B. C. 1878^e; so many years precisely intervene to the year B. C. 1485, which is assumed, as the date of Danaus's arrival in Greece, by the Parian Chronicle^f.

^c Vid. Cullimore, ap. Cory, B. C. 1485.
Anc. Fragm. p. 137. n. †.

^d Joseph. *ibid.* p. 1041. b.
comp. Leemans, *Lett. à Salv.* p. 44. Wilkins, *Thebes*, p. 506. Osburn, *Egypt. Test.* p. 13.

^e Vid. *supr.* p. 221. Comp. Chron. Can. *supr.* 2 Success.

^f Marm. Oxon. p. 160. As referred to the 2nd year of Erichthonius, it occurred, J. P. 3229. B. C. 1485. vid. Dodw. de Cyclis. p. 684. conf. Prid. *ib.* not. chron. p. 242. 250.

There is indeed an embarrassment in the expression of Manetho,—as cited by Josephus^g, who had a particular hypothesis to sustain,—which would induce us to believe that such, in fact, were the extreme terms of his computation.

But what tends more particularly to recommend this most extraordinary synchronism is its effect in verifying all the circumstances of a part of the Egyptian Chronology which is involved in more than usual perplexity. The principal kings, who were instrumental in resisting and expelling the invaders, are thus assigned the part which we have historical authority for supposing they performed, in freeing the country from its oppressors.

It is impossible to read, however carelessly, the detail of the operations in which they were engaged, without observing that it included the Exodus of the Israelites^h; whom the Egyptians easily confounded

^g Ap. Joseph. ut sup. cit. p. 1052. c. Τέθμωσις γὰρ ἦν βασιλεὺς ὅτε ἐξήεσαν ἀπὸ δὲ τούτων μεταξύ τῶν βασιλέων κατ' αὐτόν ἐστι τριακόσια ἐνενηκοντατρία ἔτη, μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν, Σέθω καὶ Ἑρμαίον, ὧν τὸν μὲν Σέθων Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμαίον Δάναον μετονομασθῆναι φησιν. It is impossible that Manetho could have been guilty of such a contradiction; as he computes but 333 years, from the first year of Amosis (or the last of the Shepherd-kings,) to the first year of Sethos; cf. Joseph. ibid. p. 1041. b. d. On removing the glosses, added by Josephus to support his favorite hypothesis of the Exodus having taken place under Tethmosis, as he miscalls

Amosis; the sense is as just, as the phrase is unembarrassed: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου τῶν βασιλέων, ἐστι τριακ. ἐνενηκ. ἔτη, μέχρι τῶν δύο ἀδελφῶν ὧν, τὸν μὲν Αἴγυπτον, τὸν δὲ Δάναον μετονομασθῆναι φασί. conf. Joseph. ut sup. p. 1041. e. This sense, however, would have unfortunately subverted Josephus' hypothesis; which was founded on the assumption that the Jews who (he knew) had departed under Tethmosis, had left Egypt under Amosis, the first king of the XVIIIth Dynasty.

^h This is indeed expressly asserted by all who have written on the subject; with whom likewise Josephus concurs in opinion. Diodor. loc. cit. Ὁ δὲ πολὺς λεῶς

with the Phenicians, as speaking the same language and descended from the same ancestry, if not derived from the same country. In the part, taken by the native monarchs, in freeing the country from the foreigners, those more prominent events are distinguishable, by which the main epochs in their history may be easily determined. That they entered Egypt, under Salatis, (B. C. 1878,) and were driven out by Amosis, (B. C. 1619,) admits not of any questionⁱ. That, having again entered it, they were finally expelled by Amenophis^k (B. C. 1485) is equally clear, from historical evidence. Between the time of their departure and their return, it is alike on record, that a remnant, identified as Hebrews, were allotted the lands, which they had occupied at Avaris; and that they retained them, until they retired, before Thothmosis^l, (B. C. 1492,) at the time of the Exodus. By these dates, which define the chief revolutions in the fortunes of this people; their history, which is unusually obscure and involved, admits of the most satisfactory and lucid arrangement. And it is remarkable, that not one of

ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὴν νῦν καλουμένην
Ἰουδαίαν οὐ πόρρω μὲν κειμένην
τῆς Αἰγύπτου . . . ἡγείτο δὲ τῆς
ἀποικίας ὁ προσαγορευόμενος Μω-
σῆς. Chæremon. ap. Joseph. ut
cit. p. 1057. b. Ἠγείσθαι δ' αὐτῶν
[τοὺς μολυσμοὺς ἐχόντων ἀνδρῶν]
γραμματέας Μωϋσῆν τε καὶ Ἰώση-
πον, καὶ τοῦτον ἱερογραμματέα.
Where, by a natural mistake, Jo-
seph is put for Aaron. Conf. Jo-
seph. ut infr. p. 1054. c. Ptol.
Mendes. ap. Clem. Strom. lib. i.
p. 320. c. Euseb. Pr. Ev. lib.
viii. cap. 8. Maneth. ap. Joseph.

contr. Ap. p. 1052. a. b. Lysimach. ap. eund. ib. p. 1058. e. f. comp. Cory, Anc. Fragm. p. 182. seq. Joseph. ut supr. Μανethὼς μὲν γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Τεθμῶσιος βασιλείαν ἀπαλλαγῆναί φησιν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἰουδαίους καὶ ἐ. conf. p. 1052. a, 1057. a.

ⁱ Conf. supr. p. 171.

^k Vid. Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1053. c. 1054. a. 1055. c. Chærem. ap. eund. p. 1057. b. c.

^l Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1053. b. 1055. a.

them is arbitrarily assumed, but established on adequate authority; the two first being determined by the computation of given intervals from the 5th year of Amosis^m; and the two last from received epochs in the Grecian and Hebrew Chronologyⁿ. The latter authorities are, however, independent as well as express: the first of the two dates, which they serve to confirm, being identified with the last year of Thothmes, the predecessor of Amenophis^o; and the last by its concurrence with the year 393, from the subjugation of Egypt by Salatis^p: the entire period, amounting precisely to so many years, during which they infested the country, being distributed, by those dates, according to its principal epochs.

2. So precisely, have the intervals, which mark the time of those revolutions, been determined; that from the establishment of *the last*, alone, (B. C. 1485,) assumed as a basis, the others admit of the fullest verification. This remarkable date leads to the discovery of a still more extraordinary synchronism, which is certainly among the most remarkable in Chronology—as it establishes not only the fact, but the epoch, of the colonisation of Greece, by the Egyptians. And it may be demonstrably proved by that cyclical criterion, which I ventured to propose, at the commencement of the present inquiry^q, for testing the accuracy, and settling the differences, of chronologists.

The year of the arrival of Danaus in Argos, as I have already observed, is determined, by the Parian

^m Vid. supr. p. 220.

^o Vid. supr. p. 84. n. k.

ⁿ Comp. supr. p. 85. n. Trans.

^p Ibid. p. 223. n. g.

ut supr. p. 332. seq.

^q Trans. ut supr. p. 2.

Chronicle; when the usual correction is made, by which its dates are reduced to the computations of Eratosthenes^r. The Egyptian monuments, though wholly silent on the subject of such a migration under Sethosis; assign a brother named Amon Toonh, to Amenophis, under whom, it is expressly on record, the Phenicians took their final departure from Egypt^s. From the similarity of this name to that of Danaus, as well as some circumstances in the history of the two brothers, it has been happily conjectured, that this person was the Egyptian chief who colonised Argos^u. The facility with which the date of this event might have been preserved in that city, strengthens the credit of the monument on which it is recorded. The Argive priestesses, of the institution of whom from among the daughters of Danaus it makes special mention^v, preserved the

^r Vid. *supr.* p. 222. n. ^f. conf. *Prid. Marm. Ox. not. chron.* p. 250.

^s Vid. Wilkins. *Mat. Hier.* p. 87. Thebes, p. 135. 169. 511. The objections, raised, by Rosellini, to this hypothesis, *Mon. Stor.* pt. 1. tom. 2. p. 245. are answered by Leemans *Lett. à Salvolin.* p. 70. 72: the difficulties, with which the latter antiquary regarded it as still beset, are removed in the authorities cited, *supr.* n. ^k. In the *Chev. Canina*, its advocates have found an effective auxiliary; who has established the tradition of this colonisation of Greece, by a strong and standing evidence, in the ruins at Mycene, and at Dekkah in Nubia. *Archit. Antic.* pt. 1. cap. 2. p. 79.

^t Maneth. et Chærem. *ut supr.*

p. 223. n. ^h.

^u Comp. Wilk. *ut supr.* n. ^s. According to Dr. Leemans the name should be written Tuonkh; *Lett.* *ut supr.* p. 73: but the epenthesis of k, however required by the rules of Dr. Lepsius's orthoëpy, is not merely opposed to every principle of euphony, but the analogy of the queen's name; from which, as Dr. Leemans seems to have been conscious, it might be rejected. *Lett. l. c.* In the phonetic alphabet, there appears to be no character for expressing d, but t. vid. Hincks, *Hierogl. Alph.* p. 59. and pl. 3. comp. Osburn, *ubi supr.* p. 165.

^v *Par. Chron.* *ut supr.* epoch. 9. *Prid.* p. 162. Marsh. *ut supr.* p. 126. 127.

memory of all remarkable events, which were dated from the years of their succession^w. And as the time of their institution was coincident with that of their arrival in Greece; while they preserved the remembrance of any event, it is inconceivable that the most remarkable should have been forgotten or mistaken. As priestesses, they were besides instrumental in introducing into Greece some of the Egyptian festivals^x,—in the observance of which the use of a calendar is implied, by which their return might be computed. In the particular day, on which the Thesmophoria was celebrated in both countries,—a festival which it is expressly declared they imported from Egypt^y,—a proof is conveyed, of the direct connexion between them, at this particular date, which, as I have intimated, amounts to demonstration.

So close is the similarity between Isis and Ceres, that we might conclude, from the internal evidence alone^z, that this remarkable festival had been imported from Egypt. We have the fullest external testimony, that it was essentially the same as that of Isis^a. As we are alike acquainted with the day of the year in which it was observed, in both countries; we are furnished with a chronological test, by which the time of its introduction into Greece may be identified, and *proved* to be that which has been offered as the date of the colonisation of Argos.

^w A. Gell. lib. xv. cap. 23. 126.

Schol. Thucyd. cf. Diod. lib. i. p. 21. al. 15. a.

^x Par. Chron. et Prid. loc. cit. Marsh. ut supr. p. 127. 130.

^y Herod. lib. ii. cap. 171. Diod. lib. ii. p. 21. al. 15. b. Marsh. p.

^z Herod. lib. ii. cap. 59. Diod. lib. i. p. 17. d. Porphy. ap. Eus. Pr. Ev. lib. iii. cap. 11. p. 115. d.

^a Herod. lib. ii. cap. 171. Diod. lib. i. p. 13. al. 9. p. 25. al. 17. 18.

We know, on unquestionable authority, that the Isiac festival was observed in Egypt on Athyr 17th; and the Thesmophoria, in Greece, on the 16th of Pyanepsion^b. It will be surely allowed to be an extraordinary coincidence, that B. C. 1485 they should have fallen on the same day of the year; as the coincidence was only liable to occur once, in the space of 1460 years, in consequence of the festival being fixed in the one country, and movable in the other. Although, on the assumption that the recorded date of the colonisation was accurately preserved by the Argive priestesses; it would be so far from remarkable, that it would be the necessary consequence of the colonists having retained their religion, while they changed their country.

In the year B. C. 1845, Thoth 1st having fallen on August 29th; Athyr 17th, on which the Isiac festival was kept, fell on November 13th^c. According to the calculation of the learned Dodwell, this day was coincident with that of the Thesmophoria, which was held from the 13th to the 16th of that month^d. On the same principles as Dod-

^b Plut. de Isid. et Osir. cap. lxix. tom. ii. p. 549.

^c Dodw. de Cycl. p. 278. "Hæc ergo sacra Isiaca Athyr Ægyptiaci fixi diei 17^o assignat Plutarchus, qui in Calendario Juliano idem erat Novembris Juliani dies 13^{us}." Conf. Petav. Doctr. Temp. tom. i. p. 293.

^d Dodw. ibid. "Sic omnia conveniunt satis accurate ut Isiaca Novembris Juliani diei 13^o egerint Ægyptii Alexandrini, per quatuor nempe dies, ut vult Plutarchus, ad diem scilicet ejusdem Novembris 16^m. . . Ita colligitur,

cum ad menses Julianos redigerentur Attici, cum Novembri incidisse Pyanepsionem. . . Et ne quidem dies ipsi Thesmophoriorum longe discrepabant. Erant enim ut Isiacorum 4, ita Thesmophoriorum fortasse 5. Hoc enim ex Aristophane colligunt eruditi, qui *τρίτην μέσσην* fuisse testantur. Horum unum fuisse Pyanepsionis 16^m. . . Fieri potest ut præ aliis *σκυθρωποτάτην* appellarit (Plutarchus.) Et fieri vice versâ potest ut præ aliis *σκυθρωποτάτη* fuerit ejusdem festi Thesmophoriis. Sic media fuerit vel fortasss ultima.

well, Plutarch in his treatise on Isis and Osiris, identifies the seed-time, which was celebrated in that festival with the Egyptian Athyr and the Greek Pyanepsion^e. The computation, both of the modern and the ancient, derives its appositeness, to the present occasion, from being founded on the Alexandrine or fixed Egyptian year^f. For, the great canicular cycle having made one revolution precisely, from the colonisation of Greece, to the establishment of "Actian era," the new year's day, coincided, at both epochs, with August 29th^g. The months and festivals were consequently restored to the same place in the Julian year, at the later time, which they had occupied in the earlier; and at both epochs, of course, Athyr 17th was coincident with the 13th of November.

In consequence of the year not having been fixed until the later epoch, B. C. 25; the festival consequently affords a criterion for determining the *precise* time, at which it passed from Egypt into Greece,

Sic ultima Thesmophoriorum cum ultima Isiacorum coinciderit. . . . in eo duntaxat discreparint quod primus Thesmophoriorum dies fuerit Novembris 12^o. Isiacorum autem ejusdem Novembris, ut dixi, 13^{us}."

^e Plut. loc. cit. n. b.

^f Dodw. loc. cit. "Norma tamen reliquorum ab Ægyptiorum Isiacis ducenda est, *fixis* tamen per epagomenam quarti cujusque anni 6^m. non ut antea *vagis et mobilibus*. Hanc enim anni Ægyptiaci formam supponit toto hoc opere Plutarchus, quæ nunquam longe à Zodiaci punctis cardinalibus discedat Anni enim Æ-

gyptiaci vagi, quod unquam fuerit, nunquam hic apud Plutarchum vel levissima suspicio."

^g Petav. Doct. Temp. tom. ii. p. 368. ad. an. J. P. 4689. A. C. 25. "Hoc anno videntur Ægyptii annum Julianum usurpasse, cum neomenia Thoth ad Aug. 29. pervenit." If this date be carried back 1460 years,—the period of the great canicular cycle,—it will bring us to the year which has been assigned to the colonisation of Greece, J. P. 3229. B. C. 1485. At both epochs, Thoth 1st having fallen on Aug. 29th, Athyr 17th consequently fell on Nov. 13th. Conf. Petav. ib. tom. i. p. 293.

where it was always observed as an anniversary. Had it been observed as such in both countries, it could have afforded no test for distinguishing one year from another. But while it remained fixed in the one; I have already observed, it was movable in the other^h. On a principle, originating in superstition, that every festival should be kept, in succession, on every day of the year, in the course of the great cycle; it was contrived that it should retrograde,—from the autumnal trope, at which it was instituted,—until it completed the round of the seasonsⁱ. Now, as a period of 1460 years, the length of that cycle, must have intervened from one coincidence of this festival with the same day of the Julian year, to another; that which met, as we have just seen, on Nov. 13 B. C. 1485, seems to identify this year, as the precise epoch of the colonisation of Argos, beyond all reasonable exception.

3. Beyond this date, the continuance of the Phœnicians in Egypt, has been protracted by Josephus 118 years, having been estimated at 511 instead of 393 years^k: which, if computed from the time of their invasion, and establishment under Salatis, would

^h Gemin. El. Astron. cap. 6. p. 19. ed. Petav. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ἐναντίαν διάληψιν καὶ πρόθεσιν ἐσχήκασιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσι. . . Ὅθεν τὰ Ἰσῖα πρότερον μὲν ἤγετο κατὰ τὰς χειμερινὰς τροπὰς· καὶ πρότερον δ' ἔτι κατὰ θερινὰς τροπὰς· ὥς καὶ Ἐρατοσθένης ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ὀκταετηρίδος ὑπομνήματι μνημονεύει.

ⁱ Id. ibid. Βούλονται γὰρ τὰς θυσίας τοῖς θεοῖς μὴ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι· ἀλλὰ

διὰ πασῶν τῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ ὥρων διελθεῖν. καὶ γίνεσθαι τὴν θερινὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ χειμερινήν, καὶ φθινοπωρινήν, καὶ ἑαρινήν· ἄγουσι γὰρ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν τξέ' . . . ἐν γὰρ τοῖς δ' ἔτεσι μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ ὑστεροῦσι . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς μ', ἑ' ἡμέραι, . . . ὥστε καὶ τοσαύταις ἡμέραις ἀναποδίζουσι αἱ ἐορταὶ, πρὸς τὸ μὴ γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὰς αὐτὰς ὥρας τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ.

^k Joseph. ut supr. p. 1040. d. 1052. d.

have ended B. C. 1367, in the 10th year of Rameses. But this supposition was the result of another equally erroneous, by which Ægyptus, the brother of Danaus, was confounded with Sesostris; with whose invasion of foreign countries, the notion of Egyptian colonisation was naturally associated¹. The identification of Danaus with Amun Toonh, the brother of Amenophis, termed Memnon, if attended with no other effect, serves to identify this monarch, as the liberator of his country, from the foreign invaders. And no evidence has been produced of any hostile movement, directed against them, in Egypt, by any subsequent king; even by those writers who prolong their stay in Egypt to the reign of Sesostris^m. Independent of other difficulties, attendant on the notion of their having retained possession of the country, after their expulsion by Amenophis; the supposition would deserve to be rejected, if on no other grounds, for the synchronism which it aimed at establishing between Moses and Ramesesⁿ, and between Sethos and Zethos^o the successor of Cadmus, which fancies are void of all rational foundation. On such loose analogies,—which frequently extended no farther than a remote resemblance of names,—those essays were founded, which pretended to fix the date of the colonisation of Greece from Egypt, which tradition had justly connected with the time of the Exodus.

I shall now venture to conclude that there were two, if not three distinct Successions, termed Theban and Memphite, and probably Thinite, from three of

¹ Id. ib. p. 1041. g. 1052.

ⁿ Conf. Joseph. ubi supr. n. ¹.

^m Id. ib. p. 1054. a. 1055. b. 1056. b. 1057. c. 1058.

^o Vid. Euseb. Can. ed. pr. fol. 13. ad A. M. 3836.

the most remarkable cities in Egypt. As descended alike from a known and recognised epoch, they are nearly of the same length, and composed of a like number of descents or generations. Although they formed separate branches, they rose from the same source, and after pursuing different channels, finally united in one main river. Between two of them a distinction is plainly recognised, in the hieroglyphic language and geographical division of Egypt. Between the Upper and Lower country, with which they are respectively identified, the natives have not only distinguished, by assigning each an appropriate emblem; but have marked the difference between them, as separate kingdoms, by adding the diadems of the sovereigns by whom they were governed^p. They have no less clearly declared their union, at a late period, by combining those diadems into one, and giving the sovereign who bore it the title of king of the Upper and Lower country^q. These are distinctions, which, with those pointed out at the commencement of the present Section, I venture to predict, will oppose an insuperable obstacle in the way of the antiquary or chronologist, who may pretend to prove that such collections of names, as the Tomes of Manetho or Turin Papyrus contain, form a connected line of Egyptian monarchs.

^p Comp. Rosetta Tablet. hierogl. l. 10. Gr. l. 3.

^q Ibid.

PART III.

THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY TESTED AND PROVED
BY THE MONUMENTAL RECORDS.

SECT. I.

The outline of the reduced Chronology established by the Tablet of Abydos; and proved to be nothing weakened by the Karnac Tablets.

BY the discovery of a key to the hieroglyphics, a new way was opened to investigation, which promised the most important results to Egyptian antiquities. But however the expectation has been realised, and in many instances surpassed; it must be allowed that little benefit has hitherto accrued, from the discovery, to Chronology. Many inscriptions have been decyphered, on which dates were preserved, but as confined to isolated reigns, they have contributed little to the advancement of a science, which comprehends a succession not merely of kings but dynasties. Much of the disappointment, however, which has been experienced, has arisen not so much from the nature of the monuments, as from the false light in which they have been regarded; genealogical lines of sovereigns having been regarded as monarchical successions, and identities consequently sought where there were

only affinities; which were so far from leading to conclusive results, that they brought the principles into disrepute on which they were founded.

Had any tablet been discovered, which possessed a series of dates, deduced like the Parian Chronicle, from an assumed or ascertainable epoch; the main difficulties, of the Ancient Chronology at least, would have been obviated. And until some monument of this kind had been recovered from the wreck of time, which possessed a series of connected dates, little aid could be derived, from any number of detached tablets, in constructing a system of Chronology. From the little promise which appears, even after the most unwearied research, that such a hope will be realised, the most skilful antiquaries and hierogrammatists have been led to denounce the attempt as vain and impracticable^a. And were we confined, in constructing such a system, to the aids which such tablets supplied; the sentence could not be objected to, as exaggerated or overstrained.

While our dependence must thus ultimately rest on what has come to us through the Greeks; the value of their communications admits of being strictly tested by the monumental evidence. Of the records, available to this purpose, which have been transmitted by antiquity, the first place is due to the celebrated Tablet of Abydos. As it was erected at This, which if not the seat of royalty, was, at an early period, the place of its retreat; it was probably constructed, from the oldest and most authentic registers, of which every city in Egypt was the depository^b. It includes the shields of the monarchs who flourished in the most distinguished era of the

^a Vid. *supr.* p. 1. n. ^a.

^b Vid. *supr.* p. 204. n. ^a.

history of that country. As originally discovered by Mr. Banks, and as indeed appears, even in its present shattered state^c, it contained three horizontal lines of scutcheons, among which the sagacity of Champollion detected those of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty^e; as preserved in the list of monarchs, which Josephus transcribed from Manetho. As it thus receives its best interpretation from this chronologist, it supplies the best, or only key, to the detached monuments of the Egyptian sovereigns. Had we been, in fact, deprived of its assistance, they would have proved nearly useless, as pretending to free the Chronology from its embarrassment, or obscurity.

I. In order to derive the fullest advantage from this celebrated monument, it is necessary to obtain a just view of its object and intention. It is apparent, on the inspection, to have been erected by the monarch, whose shields are ostentatiously repeated in the lowest line, and whom Champollion discovered, by his shield, to be the sovereign who is generally known as Sesostris^f. Some objection has been raised to this supposition, from the consideration that the monarch is introduced, in the act of making an offering to himself, on the monument^g. But this difficulty will be disposed of, when we have occasion to describe the title, "approved of the Sun," which was inserted in his scutcheon, at the crisis when the Great Year was supposed to have under-

^c For the description of this celebrated Tablet, see Rosellini, *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. pt. 1. p. 150. but particularly the Gallery of Antiquities, p. 65. seq. by Mr. Birch: and Dr. Leemans' letter to

Sig. Salvolini, p. 31. seq. 43. seq.

^e Champol. *Précis.* p. 224. seq. conf. p. 245.

^f Id. *ibid.* p. 224.

^g Birch. *ibid.* p. 71. 91.

gone its conversion. Of such a revolution in nature, as having been supposed to occur in his reign, this monument supplies of itself no inconclusive evidence.

From the inscription engraved on the margin, it appears that it was intended to record the offering of Sethosis to his predecessors, or ancestors; who, if not lineal inheritors of the throne, were allied to its occupants^h. Of the two columns which compose it, the first declares that the offering was accepted by the departed spirits to whom it was made; and the second that in return for the gift, the reign of the monarch would be long and gloriousⁱ. Although, consequently, it was not meant to be a record of the monarchical succession, yet as addressed to the predecessors of a king, who was of the royal lineage, it forms no unsuitable representation of that succession. It accords with it, at least, in supplying a chronological scale^k, by which the accuracy of any list of kings, which pretends to express the royal succession, may be strictly tested: and, if no higher object may be attained, the main question between the extended and reduced Chronology, may be finally settled. To the decision of this point, it is comparatively of little importance whether this Tablet merely contain a genealogy of Sethosis; or a list of the kings who positively filled the throne of Egypt. The number of descents, must in either case have been nearly the same, as the monarchy was hereditary: and to the consideration of their

^h Id. *ibid.* p. 66.

ⁱ Id. *ibid.*

^k Id. *ibid.*: "The tablet is a chronological succession of the monarchy, the date of its

commencement being uncertain, but terminating at Ramses the Great, who makes an offering to the ancestors or predecessors on the throne."

number, the question is necessarily limited from the nature of the Tablet, which contains nothing more than a line of escutcheons. Though the succession was liable to pass occasionally from the direct line into the collateral; the difference between them could not have been great, while the throne continued to be inherited. Whether the offspring of one brother or another succeeded by right of inheritance; the determination of the degrees of the succession was the same; and altogether independent of the accident of the crown being transmitted, from a king, through one son or another. So immense is the disparity between the contracted and extended Chronology, that it is of no importance to the decision of the question of their merits, in what light the succession of the Tablet is regarded. If it be allowed, that the succession between Menes and Sesostris, is at all connected, by lineage or descent; it must be plain, beyond controversion, that no room remains for interposing a single Dynasty, in any one of the three successions, much less for interposing fifteen others. And if these Dynasties be regarded as more than fictitious, as they must be classed as contemporaneous, they create no objection to the reduced Chronology, while they annihilate the pretensions of the extended.

The testimony, however, which is afforded by this Tablet to the former system, is not merely negative; but is as explicit as it is conclusive. Unfortunately the first shields of the monument have been in a great measure obliterated. It has been, however, sufficiently preserved, to determine the precise number, to which the succession extended; and no more is necessary to determine the descents, by which the

claims of the rival systems are decided. Of the two rows of shields, which preserve the names of the sovereigns, so much has been preserved as enables us to prove that they included the most ancient monarchs; and consequently that the succession was deduced, as we might *a priori* conclude, from the foundation of the monarchy. The second row, however, is nearly complete; and from connecting the two Dynasties, numbered as the XIIth and XVIIIth in Manetho¹, establishes the fact which has been already proved, on the independent testimony of Eratosthenes^m; and by which the pretensions of the extended Chronology are extinguished. The intermediate Dynasties, as excluded from the direct line, must be classed as contemporaneous; which entails the consequence which has been lately hinted, as fatal to those pretensions.

The first shield is unfortunately among the defaced; but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that it contained the name of Menes. This assumption is not in the least affected by the arbitrary assumption, that the Tablet contains the monarchs of the XVIIIth, and the three preceding Dynasties of Manethoⁿ. Were not this groundless supposition refuted, by the insertion of the XIIth, near the close of the succession^o; it would be overturned by the introduction of the names of those kings, near the commencement, who occupied a high rank in the IIInd, as numbered by that chronologist^p. That it commenced with the name of Menes, may be how-

¹ Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i. p. 157. sq. ii. 255. sq.

^m Vid. supr. p. 140.

ⁿ Ideler. Hermap. p. 227. comp. Birch ut supr. p. 66.

^o Rosellin. ut supr. p. 188.

Ideler. ut supr. p. 230. Hincks on the Egypt. Stele, p. 20.

^p Birch ut supr. p. 67.

ever established decisively, though indirectly. That it was erected by Sethosis, and contains the line of his ancestors, is universally allowed: and no doubt can be entertained that he affected to derive his descent from that monarch. This is alike apparent from the deduction of the royal line, by Eratosthenes, and by Manetho; who severally deduce the Succession, in which he is included, from Menes^q. It appears more distinctly from two tablets, in the Memnonium, on which a portion of the succession contained in the Tablet of Abydos, is repeated^r: and of which, the one part is deduced from Menes, while the other is extended to Sethosis. The same conclusion follows from the consideration of one object, with which the Tablet was obviously erected; as commemorating the period of the Great Restitution; which as deduced from the foundation of the monarchy, necessarily commenced with the first year of its founder. But the point is decided, by the place and order assigned on it, to the principal kings in the succession, by whom the great pyramids were erected; and who occupy about the same place as in the Theban line of monarchs, deduced from Menes. When the correspondent intervals are computed in ascent from any of those kings in the Tablet; they require that he should be placed at the head of the tabular succession^s.

II. From this similarity, it need hardly be remarked, this celebrated monument must derive any weight, which it may possess in deciding the point at issue. From the resemblance with which the

^q Comp. Chron. Can. B. C. 2673. 3 Append. Dyn. i. B. C. 5702.

^r Burton Excerpt. pl. 2.

^s Comp. tabl. supr. p. 156. with Tabl. of Abyd. N^o. 15. 13. 1.

three Successions, to which the Dynasties have been reduced, preserve among themselves; it necessarily follows, that if its evidence establish any one, it must in some measure sustain the others. Differences, it must be admitted, not only exist, between it and them, but also among themselves: as, however, they are slight, they in no wise affect the main argument, while they serve to prove that the common testimony is borne by independent documents, by which in fine the question must be decided.

Without entering at present, into a comparison of the names in the monumental and chronological successions; from the mere consideration of the number of the shields and the degrees of descent in both, that evidence arises, by which the main point in dispute is at once decided. Whatever be the devices with which the obliterated scutcheons should be filled up; it admits of no question that each row contained 26, and as they were equal in length, that they amounted to 52 altogether^t. After what has been already advanced on the subject of the first and last shield of the monument^u, it admits of no dispute, that the tabular succession, as well as the chronological, commenced with Menes, and ended with Sethosis. The former point is generally admitted, as well by those who reduce the succession of mortal Dynasties to fifteen, as those who contend that they should be extended to thirty. On the latter point, there is not room for a moment's question.

The number of the descents, between Menes and Sethosis inclusive, have been limited to 52, by Dio-

^t Burt. Excerpt. pl. 1. Gall. of Antiq. pl. 29.

^u Supr. p. 239. n. 1.

dorus^v. Between his statement and the Theban and Memphite Succession,—not to insist on the Thinite,—we formerly pointed out an extraordinary conformity^w. It is not easy to conceive, how a stronger confirmation could be given to this united testimony, than it receives from the Tablet of Abydos, which is the only monument, as yet discovered, that sheds any light on the subject. In marking the degrees in the succession, between the two monarchs, by 50 shields^x, its coincidence with the Greek historian is so close, that we can only account for the conformity by supposing it deduced, on each side, from high and unquestionable authority. It is unnecessary to repeat the effect of this concurrent evidence, on the rival systems of Chronology, which are claimants for our adoption.

This extraordinary conformity, however, between the chronological and monumental evidence, is not confined to the extremes of the Succession; or to the number of intervening links, by which the extremes are connected. In the written and the engraved records of the sovereigns, which are now compared, several *names* occur, by which the principal monarchs in the royal succession of Egypt may be identified, in the Tablet. From the *order* in which they there occur, and the *intervals* at which they are placed, on each side, the same conclusion is established beyond controversion.

1. Of those names with which we have become familiar through the Greeks, the following have been determined; partly from the devices on the shields themselves, and partly from the correspondent

^v Vid. *supr.* p. 139. and n. e.

^w *Supr.* p. 215.

^x Birch. *Gall. of Antiq.* p. 66.

scutcheons of other monuments which preserve both the names and the titles of the monarchs; for, with the exception of the last king, the Tablet merely records the latter designation^y. I shall take them, as decyphered by Mr. Birch, after the precedent and on the principles of Champollion; and as they are numbered in his description of the Antiquities of the Museum, which he has so ably illustrated^z. A selection of the principal names will abundantly serve my purpose; and the following, which are numbered, in the order assigned to them on the monument, are certainly the most remarkable. No. 13 Suphis or Cheops, No. 15 Mencheres, No. 38 Amenemes, No. 40 Amosis, No. 44 Moeris, No. 46 Thothmes, No. 47 Amenophis^a. As the last four monarchs were avowedly of the XVIIIth Dynasty, this list of names might be easily extended with others: but having occasion to return to the subject, I shall reserve them for future consideration, the preceding instances being more than sufficient for my present purpose. On the wide distance between the first two and the succeeding examples which have been selected for examination, it may be necessary to observe that it arises from a defect in the monument, which has been unfortunately defaced, in the middle of the succession, as well as at the beginning.

If a glance be now cast at that part of the Canon^b, prefixed to this discussion, which comprises as much of the Succession as extends from Menes to Sethosis; or to the Tables^c, in which the inter-

^y Birch. Gall. of Antiq. p. 66.

^z Id. *ibid.* p. 67. seq.

^a Id. *ibid.* p. 67. 69.

^b See Chron. Can. B. C. 2259. 2203. 1832. 1538. 1501. 1492.

^c See Tabl. *supr.* p. 156. 166.

vening monarchs' reigns are distributed, on the authority of Eratosthenes and Manetho: it will be directly descried that the foregoing names preserve the same *order*, in the chronological and the monumental record. As it is next to impossible, that such regularity could exist in so many names if indiscriminately taken, and be the effect of accident, or good luck; the former document derives, from its coincidence with the latter, all the authority which can be imparted by a monument of the highest antiquity.

2. But the evidence thus borne to the accuracy of the reduced Chronology admits of being still more closely, and consequently, more conclusively applied. For the preceding names are not merely disposed in the same order; but at nearly correspondent *intervals*, on the sculptured and the written record. Whatever variation, in the latter respect, is observable between them,—which by the way is always inconsiderable,—is easily resolved into the difference which documents, of an independent and ancient origin, necessarily possess to each other. In offering the annexed list of names, in illustration of the foregoing principle; it is only necessary to observe, that the prefixed figures mark the number of reigns by which each sovereign is distant from Menes. No. 15 Saophis, No. 17 Mencheres, No. 32 Amenemes, No. 39 Amosis, No. 43 Mœris, No. 45 Thothmes, No. 46 Amenophis^d. A comparison of these figures with those prefixed to the same names, as extracted from the monument and numbered on the same principle^e, will fully prove that the coincidence between those documents, is not

^d See Tabl. *ibid*.

^e Supr. p. 242.

confined to the extremes, but extends through the whole line of the succession.

Of the comparative lists of those monarchs it is particularly deserving of remark, that the accession of Saophis, Amosis and Amenophis coincides with remarkable epochs in the Egyptian Monarchy; and that the intervals, at which they are respectively placed from its foundation, are all but coincident. The effect of this observation on the subject in dispute, will be readily acknowledged, by those who consider, that on a few fixed epochs the disposition of all the intervening reigns necessarily depends for their accuracy. It will be as readily admitted, that those limits being regarded as firmly fixed; the interposition of one of those Dynasties, which have been rejected from the succession as contemporaneous, must be regarded as not merely unauthorized, but as impossible.

In tracing the foregoing coincidences, it must be allowed, that the number of the intervening *reigns* is exclusively considered, without immediate regard to the *years* which they continued. But the distinction is of little or no importance, in the establishment of the conclusion, which it is our immediate object to effect. By the course of nature those periods, whether continued by generation or descent, have their prescribed limits, which render the computation, under either condition, sufficiently definite and conclusive. From the testimony of Herodotus, it appears that they were estimated at the rate of 30 years in Egypt^f. And on a calculation founded on the number of the kings compared with the length of the Succession, it appears that they are

^f Herod. ubi supr. p. 51. n. 1.

not overrated above two years in that estimate. Although the length of each reign is certainly rather extended than contracted when thus measured; on admitting it as sufficiently just, when the 51 reigns, recognised by the tablet^g, are computed at that length, they will not much exceed the period of 1400 years, which has been ascribed to the Succession by Diodorush. By this ancient monument, when thus interpreted, the antiquity of the Monarchy will be consequently lowered to an epoch, by which the contracted Chronology is fully and exclusively established.

But even without regard to the length of the intermediate reigns; the determination of the preceding intervals, as I have observed, renders the interpolation of another Dynasty impossible, while respect is paid to the authority of this monument. And from the same consideration, a still more important consequence results to the earlier computations in this discussion. For it necessarily follows, from the same principle, that the connexion between the main divisions of the Chronology, as founded on the respective lists of Eratosthenes and Manethoi, —one of which closes with the XIIth as the other commences from the XVIIIth Dynasty—is completely established. Where nothing can be interposed it is self-evident the connexion must be unbroken. And it matters not for the application of this principle, whether the intervals, (which maintain a determined ratio to each other,) be computed from Menes, or one of his early successors, as Suphis or Mencheres, to Amosis or Amenophis, on

^g Galler. of Antiq. p. 66.

^h Supr. p. 139.

ⁱ Vid. supr. p. 149.

whose place upon the monument, there is no room for a contest. From the shorter, no less than the longer interval, the connexion may be equally established. If computed, for example, from Menes, Amosis is found to occupy the 40th place on the Tablet; he will be found to occupy the 22nd, when computed from Suphis, and the 20th when computed from Mencheres^k. The computation does not differ materially, whether it be made on the written or the monumental record. It follows, by necessary consequence, that as the line is unbroken on the one side, which cannot be reasonably denied; it must be equally so on the other.

In the Tablet of Abydos, it thus appears, that we have a fourth Succession, analogous to the three, which have been contradistinguished, as the chronological; each of which derives from it the fullest confirmation. It coincides with at least two of them, not only in retaining the names of the principal monarchs by whom the throne was filled from the earliest period; but in disposing them, in the same order, and at nearly the same intervals. The difference between the written and monumental evidence, which is thus obtained, is not greater than we might expect to find between documents of a high antiquity and independent origin, and that bear internally any evidence of their authenticity. Its conformity, however, is more close to the Theban, than to the other Successions¹; at which we shall feel no surprise, when it is known that it is the genealogy of a Theban monarch.

^k See Chron. Can. B. C. 2673. 2259. 2203. 1624. comp. Tabl. supr. p. 166.

¹ Comp. supr. p. 166. and p. 212. or Chron. Can. success. 1. 2. and 3.

The Thinite line, in preserving the names of Nephhercheres andⁿ Ceneres^m, of which it alone takes notice, so far justifies the expectation that might be formed of a monument, erected in the city of Abydos or This, from which it is termed; it consequently furnishes a proof, that the names enrolled in it, however unacknowledged in the other Successions, or unknown to Eratosthenes, are not the mere fiction of Manetho. But how far those names tend to authenticate the Thinite Dynasties, or to establish an affinity between them and the Thinite Tablet, is not directly apparent, and would hardly repay the trouble of an inquiry. Beyond the times of Cheops, and those of his immediate predecessors and followers,—the chronology of which is necessarily fixed by Eratosthenes,—no early Dynasty, whatever be the Succession to which it belongs, possesses anything of antiquarian or historical interest. By those who place any dependence on the Laterculum and its line of monarchs, these Dynasties will not be thought worthy of the least attention.

From the common testimony of those early documents, as well written as sculptured, chronological as monumental, we cannot err in deducing the following conclusions. They prove beyond reasonable doubt, that the records of the Egyptian monarchy, on which the proof of the nation's early celebrity is mainly, or exclusively founded, justify no such claims to an unfathomable antiquity, as are ascribed to it by modern visionaries. On the contrary, that these records betray, in their variations and uncertainty, during the comparatively short period to which they

ⁿ Tabl. of Abyd. N^o. 16. 22. Galler. of Antiq. ut supr. p. 67. 68.

extend, those characteristic marks which indicate a rude and incipient state of society. From their combined evidence, it indeed appears, that the views, taken by Eratosthenes, of the ancient monarchical succession, were distinguished by a correctness, not unworthy of his high reputation, as a chronologist. As confirmed and illustrated by this extraordinary monument, they place beyond rational doubt, that from the foundation of the monarchy to its attaining the height of its glory, it was governed by about 50 kings, who, in the course of nature could not have continued to reign above 1400 years, as we positively collect from the *Laterculum*°. The epoch of the monarchy, of course, so far from extending four or five thousand years, not to speak of thirty thousand, above the Christian era, cannot be traced farther back than 2673: a conclusion, which we shall soon take occasion to show, is borne out by the progress of the arts and architecture of Egypt, as attested at the present day by its monumental remains.

I contend, therefore, that the main difficulties of the Egyptian Chronology are definitively settled by this invaluable monument. In determining the number of descents, or generations, in the royal Succession; it decides the respective pretensions of the extended and contracted system. In connecting the main divisions of the Chronology, it establishes the integrity of the Succession; while it disposes of the supernumerary Dynasties, by proving them contemporaneous, as excluding them from the Succession. In thus establishing a precedent, by which

° Vid. *supr.* p. 139.

the XXth Dynasty may be disposed of, it leaves no further ground for reasonable objection. For in prolonging the Succession to the end of the XVIIIth, it carries it beyond the period, in which it has excited doubts, or provoked objections. As it is confined to a single line, after this time, no further question can arise, whether the Chronology should be regarded as reduced or extended: few differences, but such as are accidental and trivial, appearing in the manner, in which it is disposed by chronologists of different schools, however opposed to each other in principle.

III. Besides these important ends, the Tablet of Abydos has its subsidiary uses; among the most important of which is its efficaciousness, in determining the value of the Karnac monument; on which the advocates of the extended Chronology place their last dependence. As this monument contains 64 shields^p, and was erected by Mœris, whose scutcheon occupies the 44th place on the Tablet of Abydos; if it be allowed to contain an unbroken succession, it necessarily carries back the commencement of the lineage, 20 generations above the royal line of the latter monument. And if each generation, according to the preceding calculations, be computed at 30 years; about 600 years must be consequently added to the interval, which elapsed from the foundation of the monarchy to the accession of Sethosis.

Were these claims allowed, it is scarcely necessary to remark, that the Egyptian Chronology, as hitherto digested, would be thrown into disorder: in that part at least which extends from Menes to Mœris,

^p See Burton's Excerpt. pl. 1.* Lepsius Ausw. taf. 1.

or to Amosis; with whose reign the XVIIIth Dynasty commences. To fill up the period of six centuries, with which the Succession would be thus extended; it would be necessary to include in it one or two of those Dynasties, which have been classed in the preceding section as contemporaneous. I need not here stop to object *in limine*, that if the evidence of this monument were allowed to be so far decisive, as to render this change in the plan of this work indispensable; little advance would be made towards the establishment of the extended Chronology. Two Dynasties form but an inconsiderable portion of the fifteen, for which room must be provided, before that point could be attained; and by the exclusion of one out of the fifteen, the fact would be established, that there were contemporaneous sovereigns; by the admission of which, that unwieldy system would be at once reduced to a state of uncertainty and contradiction.

From a comparative view, however, of the Tablets of Karnac and Abydos; the former monument may be easily proved to be utterly valueless, in throwing light on the early history or chronology of Egypt. When its pretensions are thus tried, and the question is further submitted to the practical test of the progress of the arts and architecture in that country; the result will be found to be no less fatal to its pretensions, than favorable to those of the monument, from which such important consequences have been deduced to the reduced Chronology.

1. After the proof into which I lately entered, I am either justified in assuming that the shields on the Abydos Tablet are disposed in chronological order; or all further search after matter of fact, in

the present investigation, must be abandoned as altogether hopeless. There is no person, however, who, after acquainting himself with the disposition of the shields on that monument, but must be convinced, on examining those on the Tablet of Karnac, that the latter are disposed without any regard to arrangement^q.

(1) With a view, to their assimilation, seven shields on the one tablet have been identified with as many on the other; those numbered 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38 and 39, on that of Abydos, being assumed as respectively corresponding with those numbered 23, 31, 22, 21, 20, 19 and 18, on that of Karnac^r. But I am much deceived, or the presumed agreement may be subverted, by the very examples, however partially chosen, which are thus adduced to establish it.

In the preceding comparison of shield with shield, much more is assumed, than observation will be found to verify, in the assimilation of those monu-

^q Vid. Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i. p. 157. So much is also admitted by one, whose predilections inclined him to adopt the extended, in preference to the reduced Chronology. "Although too, many of the names in the Abydos Tablet are reproduced in that of Karnac, there appears as yet a want of monumental evidence to enable any satisfactory clue to be seized relative to the succession of that line." Galler. of Antiq. p. 66. The sentence passed upon it by Dr. Hincks, is much more strong, but I conceive much more just. "Mr. Cullimore and I differ as to the claims of

this tablet to be received as an historic document. He considers it to carry with it, its own evidence. I, on the contrary, conceive it to be totally destitute of internal claims to be received as an authentic catalogue of kings; I consider the evidence, on which Mr. Cullimore relies, as corroborating it, to be inconclusive; and I think that other parts of it,—as well as the Osortasen succession,—are inconsistent with contemporary monuments." On the Egypt. Stele, p. 21. n. Comp. Leemans, Lett. à Salv. p. 23. Ideler. Hermap. p. 227.

^r Bunsen Aegypt. Stel. I. B. p. 74.

ments. Those marked 33 and 34 on the one tablet, and 20 21 on the other, are so completely effaced, as to afford no ground of comparison whatever^s. By the introduction of the 31st between, the 22nd and 23rd, the continuity of the latter is not merely broken, but the order of succession positively subverted^t. In addition to this, the 38th of the one tablet does not accord with the 19th of the other^u, though they are assumed to correspond; and the 21st which *precedes* the 35th on the one monument by an interval of 13 shields, *succeeds* its correspondent 22, on the other, by an interval but of 11^v. If these examples prove a similarity between the two monuments, I am at a loss to conceive by what examples their diversity could be established.

Of the seven shields, on each side which may be consequently regarded as contrasted, rather than likened, it is further remarkable that they belong to the Dynasty numbered as the XIIth by Africanus^w. By the disposition of the three first, on the Karnac Tablet, the supposition is refuted that any principle of order was regarded, in the distribution of that monument. The 1st shield of that Dynasty, instead of being followed by the 2nd, has the 3rd placed immediately on its right; the 2nd being dropped into the line which is below it^x. On the 4th shield—which is numbered as the 21st on the tablet of Abydos,^y—I have already remarked, as reversing the order of succession; being represented as preceding the same scutcheon, on the one, which

^s Comp. Burt. et Leps. ut supr.

^w Vid. supr. p. 238. n. °.

p. 249. n. p.

^x Burt. et Leps. l. c.

^t *Ibid.*

^u *Ibid.*

^y *Ibid.* comp. Galler. of

^v *Ibid.*

Antiq. p. 68.

it follows, on the other. If order be essential to the science of time or dates; we may surely conclude that a monument, on which every thing is thrown into disarray, can have nothing to do, or have nothing in common, with Chronology.

(2) This monument is of just as little service to those who have an object in extending the royal succession beyond the limits which have been assigned to it by Eratosthenes, and the Tablet of Abydos. It has been assumed, on no solid or adequate ground, that to each of the shields, on the Karnac monument, the symbols expressive of sovereign rank have been added^z. On the contrary, the diversity of the symbols clearly indicates a difference in the rank of the persons who bore the escutcheons; the insignia, severally ascribed to each, intimating, by their character, the inferiority of some to others. The marginal inscriptions at the sides are something less than equivocal, in applying the title of monarch indiscriminately to the persons identified by their shields on the tablet; and the interlinear inscriptions, which are placed over each figure, frequently declare them of a rank, inferior to the sovereign.

In the lateral inscriptions we merely observe "Royal gifts to the royal rulers of an obedient people." But I submit, whether the determinatives, by which the rulers thus designated are indicated, and whose function is signified by the lash, do not mark them as subjects rather than as sovereigns. On neither side of the monument are they decorated

^z Buns. ut supr. p. 64. "Über dem Haupte eines jeden der sitzenden Könige steht dessen Königsschild mit dem bekannten Titeln

der Pharaonen." This assertion should be, however, received with the qualification noticed, *infr.* p. 255. n.^h.

with either part of the diadem worn by the ruler of upper or lower Egypt; much less with the double diadem, or pschent, which distinguished the monarch of both countries^a. It is plain from an erasure, in the inscription, on one side, that it underwent a correction, by which it seems not to have been really amended. The crouching sphinx, on the propylon, added at the end, having no connexion with the symbol of the bee preceding; it would seem that the determinative was obliterated, and reproduced lower down^b, to suit it to the context. When this awkward interpolation is withdrawn, and the inscription restored, according to the first intention; the terms, in which it distinguishes the persons, introduced on the monument, by name, are sufficiently humble.

The same conclusion is still more plainly deducible from the crests, annexed to the scutcheons in the body of the inscription. In the shields numbered, from 1 to 16 inclusive,—if not in those also numbered 20 and 21—the solar disk is wanting, which designated a Pharaoh^c. Though in general they have the reed and bee annexed to them; to 3 only^d is the title $\pi\epsilon\delta$ $\pi\tau\omicron$ subjoined; which that of $\pi\epsilon\delta$ $\iota\pi\iota$ $\chi\epsilon\tau$ supersedes in 24^e, dispersed in different parts

^a Vid. *supr.* p. 207. n. ^k. and ^h.
By the marked contrast between the two tablets, the objection is more decidedly pointed. In that of Karnac, the image of the prince, or ruler, is represented without any diadem: while in that of Abydos, it is alternately represented with the crown of upper and lower Egypt, and as

bearing the sceptre and lash. *Comp. Leps. et Burt. ut supr. Galler. of Antiq. pl. 29. p. 71.*

^b Leps. *ut supr.* ^c Id. *ibid.*

^d Leps. *ib.* No. 9. 30. 34. *conf. infr. n. f.*

^e Id. *ib.* No. 2. 3. 6. 7. 11. 18. 19. 21. 23. 28. 29. 38. 40. 42. 44. 46. 48. 50. 51. 53. 57. 58. 60. 61. *conf. infr. n. g.*

of the tablet. The former title^f, I readily grant, to those who are disposed to claim it, was analogous to βασιλεὺς; but the latter^g must have therefore meant δυναστῆς, more particularly if its signification is to be deduced from the symbols that express it. By these titles, I have elsewhere shown, a rank inferior to the monarchical might be indicated. As they are given on the monument with a variation, which means nothing, or expresses a difference in rank^h; we are at least justified in inferring, that among the royal persons, whose shields are emblazoned on it, some were of inferior dignity. This point being admitted—

^f Rosellin. Mon. Stor. ut supr. ser. i. p. 107.

^g Ungarel. Obel. Rom. p. 48. n. 233.

^h It is deserving of remark that the titles βασιλεὺς and δυναστῆς are recognised by Hermapion, in his translation of the inscription of the obelisk of Rameses. Prof. Rosellini, in regarding them, as of the same force, and synonymous with **HEB TO**, is, I apprehend, mistaken. Referring to this title, he observes, l. c. n. * “Questo medesimo titolo precede il nome di Ramestes sull’ obelisco tradotto da Ermapione, ed è espresso, βασιλεὺς οἰκουμένης δεσποτῆς οἰκουμένης. E lo stesso titolo si prende nelle iscrizioni geroglifiche dai re Lagedi, e dagli imperatori Romani, l’ impero dei quali non si dubita che si estendesse su tutto intero paese.” Between the times of the latter sovereigns, and those of the predecessors of Amosis, and even of the contemporaries of Rameses or

Nectanebo, those terms of nobility were subject to such changes, as titles of honor are peculiarly liable to: vid. supr. p. 52. n. m. The symbol of the *reed* and *bee* have their meaning determined, beyond reasonable exception. Of the former Plutarch observes, de Isid. cap. 36. καὶ θρύψ βασιλέα καὶ τὸ νότιον κλίμα τοῦ κόσμου γράφουσι; and of the latter Horapollon, I. 62. λαὸν πρὸς βασιλέα πειθήνιον δηλοῦντες, μέλισσαν ζωγραφοῦσι. But both these terms are relative, and had their meaning restricted or extended, in some measure, by the terms **HEB IRI CHET** and **HEB NI TO**, with which they are qualified on the Karnac tablet. The shields numbered 9. 30. 34, which exclusively are attended by the latter, apparently denoted rulers of a higher, and most probably of a supreme rank: the others which want it, are necessarily of an inferior order.

and it will not be easily disproved—the testimony of this monument is directly neutralised, as far as it has been presumed to carry the monarchical line, above the limit prescribed to it, by the tablet of Abydos.

(3) That the tablet of Karnac is not a chronological nor a genealogical document, must be, I conceive, inferred from the disregard of all order, which appears in its dispositionⁱ. Some light, however, appears to be thrown on its true character by the bilingual papyri; which contain contracts founded on grants, or endowments, such as the monument clearly commemorates^j. It is plain from the inscriptions engraved on it, that it perpetuates the memory of certain “royal gifts,” which were offered by Thothmes to his dead predecessors^k. It is no less plain, from the papyri, that these offerings did not consist in mere sculptures of flowers, fruits and fowls, as represented on the monument in marble, but were grants of lands and their produce, generally made to the priests, to whom the tombs were conveyed, as a security for the performance of the contract^l. Under this view, the monuments would seem intended to preserve the remembrance of the priestly claims, no less than the royal munificence; without aiming at the removal or illustration of any point of difficulty, whether antiquarian or chrono-

ⁱ Vid. *supr.* p. 231. n. a. In Mr. Birch's admission, that the royal catalogue might have admitted names, from “mythic dynasties of kings, who never existed,” (*Galler. of Antiq.* p. 68.) the authority of this monument, whether regarded as a chrono-

logical or genealogical document, would seem to be virtually abandoned.

^j Osburn, *Antiq. of Egypt.* p. 251. *Long. Eg. Ant. of Br. Mus.* vol. ii. p. 277. 383.

^k Birch, *ut supr.* p. 236. n. k.

^l Osburn *ut supr.*

gical. As those persons, for the benefit of whose souls the offering was intended were of princely, if not of royal rank; they would be necessarily designated by their escutcheons on the monument, whether the offering consisted of a sculptured tablet, or of solid grants of lands and their produce. Under either view, the disposition of the shields might be intended to mark the position of the tombs, or niches, in which the bodies were deposited. The bare possibility that such might have been its intention, deprives this Tablet of any authority, which might be claimed for it, as a chronological document. As it possesses no characters, by which the progress or extent of time can be determined, an appeal to it, for the settlement of any difficulty, must be not merely fruitless but preposterous.

2. However unfitted this monument may be, to afford direct light or assistance, in clearing up any chronological difficulty; it is at least qualified to guide us in the search after other monuments, by which our inquiries after the truth may be directed. It is on all sides agreed that it contains the shields and titles of many of the earliest kings of Egypt; the sovereign rulers of which seem to have vied with each other, in perpetuating, in sculpture, the memory of their grandeur or glory. On these permanent records, the clearest evidence is preserved, by which the just pretensions of a nation to an early celebrity may be proved; and their vain pretences to a high antiquity as easily confuted. If there be any truth in these pretensions, the period through which this evidence was perpetuated, must have produced monuments without number, from which it might be now recovered. Between the accession

of Suphis, who raised the first pyramid, and of Amemphis, who built the Memnonium, about 3350 years must have elapsed, if any faith be due to the extended chronology^m. It farther appears, from the sarcophagus of Mencheres discovered in the third pyramidⁿ, that for that period whatever might have been its length, the kings of Egypt were anxious to provide themselves with everlasting dormitories; and that the arts had even then attained a degree of perfection, equal to the execution of sepulchral monuments not unworthy of the proudest period of their cultivation.

It is surely, then, no more than reasonable to conclude, from the known care bestowed by the monarchs of all ages on the depositories of their remains; that after a period of above forty centuries, some monumental relics answerable to these expectations, should be discoverable, in a country, which was peculiarly propitious to their preservation. So far, on the contrary, have been these expectations from verification; that the farther inquiry has been pursued, the more signal has been their disappointment.

An antiquary whose zeal was only surpassed by his diligence in the pursuit, and whose testimony remains uncontested, thus delivers himself, not merely in reference to the subject in general, but to the particular monument before us. "The Tablet of the chamber of kings at Karnac, of the time of Thothmes III. (Mæris), contains a long series of earlier names; but no monument has yet been dis-

^m Vid. 3 Append. infr. B. C. ⁿ Vyse. Oper. in the Pyram.
4904. 1551. Böckh ut supr. p. vol. ii. p. 94.
770. 775.

covered to have been erected by them, nor are their phonetic names known^o." He thus proceeds to connect, by a few links, the extremes of the immense period; by our researches in which it is proposed the question should be decided. "That of the Memnonium seems to begin with Menes, who is followed by a much later king called Menmoth,—also found in the Karnac chamber, as 5th predecessor to Osartisen,—and next to him comes the XVIIIth Dynasty of Diospolites^o."

Previously to the accession of the latter Dynasty to power, it has been doubted, whether any of the monuments could have been raised, which have been as yet discovered among the ruins of Egypt. Mr. Salt, whose diligence of research, and long residence in Egypt, as British Consul, entitle his opinion to much respect, has given this as his deliberate judgment^p. And although he was liable to err, on a point of chronology; his sentence, on the matter of fact, as to what monuments had been discovered, will not be justly questioned. Sir G. Wilkinson, in opposing this sentence of the British Consul, cannot justify his dissent from it, by an appeal to any monument, of an earlier age, than the time of the XVIth Dynasty^q. After expressing himself, to this effect, he directly adds; "Some hieroglyphic tablets on rocks, a few tombs, about Memphis and the smaller pyramids, are objects of an earlier date than Osartisen; but their epoch is yet uncertain, and their style undeserving of remark, among the historical remains of Egypt^r." He had previously ob-

^o Wilkins. Mater. Hier. p. 74.
n. †.

^p Id. *ibid.* p. 10. n. 4.

^q Vid. *supr.* p. 165. n. w.

^r Wilkins. *ut supr.* p. 74.

served of Osartisen, that he “was probably of the XVIth Dynasty^s :” a conjecture which has been since fully established.

The search after early sepulchral monuments has not been more successful in the recovery of inscriptions, by which the pretensions to a high antiquity can be supported. No traces of such evidence have been yet acquired, as serve to prove that the royal succession possessed the moderate antiquity, ascribed to it in the Tablet of Abydos; the date of which, it should be remembered, is not earlier than the reign of Sethosis. If credit be due to that monument, his predecessors in the kingdom, held the seat of government at Thebes, or at This, in its vicinity^t. The tombs of several have been discovered in the neighbourhood of their capital; but they prove, on examination, to be neither numerous nor ancient, as was likewise known to be the case, in the time of Diodorus. “It is singular,” Sir G. Wilkinson observes, “that we do not find at Thebes, the sepulchres of the kings who preceded Amenoph (Memnon), nor is his indeed in the same valley as those of the other kings^u.” Of the royal cemetery, where we might most reasonably expect to find the remains of monarchs of the original Theban succession, he remarks; “the tomb of this last, Rameses or Rameses I, is the oldest one yet opened in the valley of kings, as that of his successor is the most splendid^v.”

The inference which necessarily follows, from this unprejudiced evidence, may be left to the deduction of any man not merely of common sense, but com-

^s Conf. *supr.* p. 165. n. ^w.

^t Vid. *supr.* p. 246. n. ^k.

^u Wilkins. *ut supr.* p. 88.

^v Id. *ib.* p. 89.

mon honesty. Its bearing on the controversy which has been so unwisely and uselessly revived, on the comparative merits of the reduced and extended Chronology, will be apparent without a more direct application. That the arts of sculpture and architecture should have flourished in Egypt, for the incredible time which is pretended; and that no vestige of their existence should remain, but at each extreme of the period, is a supposition so monstrously absurd as to carry with it its own refutation. Nor can the contradiction, implied in it, be reconciled, unless on the supposition, that the early Dynasties had no reality, as a distinct line of monarchs, but that which is conferred on them by the invention of ancient impostors, and the credulity of modern visionaries. On the promise, with which the search after monumental evidence, by which such claims will be substantiated, it would be a waste of time to pass an observation.

How different is the result to the reduced Chronology, when tried by the same evidence! And even in opening it, the fact is surely remarkable, that while it proscribes, as contemporaneous or imaginary, the first XV Dynasties; the earliest monuments which have been discovered, should be coeval with the XVIth, from whence it deduces the royal succession^w. Nor can it be deemed less remarkable,

^w Vid. *supr.* p. 165. n. ^w. In the following concession, much more is conveyed than the negative argument that no monuments, suited to our present purpose, have been discovered, of the first XV Dynasties, which the reduced Chronology rejects: it

positively connects the evidence of the earliest which have been discovered, with the first shields in the Tablet of Abydos, with which the epoch of that Chronology is identified. Birch. Gal. *ut* *supr.* p. 66. "Notwithstanding the progress of hieroglyphical dis-

that when traced from the earliest epoch, through the period of something less than 1000 years, from Suphis to Sethosis^x, to which it has been limited; the testimony, borne to the state and progress of the arts, should be constant as well as consistent^y. Of the periods into which it may be divided, during the first 300 years, which were distinguished by the pyramids^z of Cheops and Nitocris, the sovereigns employed their skill and resources on the erection of structures of massy and gigantic proportions. Before Amosis^a and his successor Amenophis^b, few indications appear of that excellence, which distinguishes the public works of the Thothmoses. With Mœris and his predecessor Amense, the splendid period of the arts commences^c, which acquired a degree of unprecedented excellence under the patronage of that illustrious family. In the middle of the Dynasty, to which they belonged, those noble structures arose, for which Egypt is chiefly celebrated, and which spread over Nubia, when reduced under the sway of the Rameses^d, who were not less ennobled by the arts of peace than the achievements of war. From the reign of Sethosis the era of their

covery, the paucity of monuments, and, consequently, of evidence, prior to the XVIth dynasty, renders the acceptance and purport of the succession of the upper line dependent upon the monument itself: the *only other known document*, the Hieratical Canon of Turin, being unfortunately, from an attempt to restore the mutilation, so doubtful, that *it can hardly be received even as confirmation* of what is *already esta-*

lished." Comp. Leemans Lett. à Salvolin. p. 23.

^x See Chron. Can. supr. B. C. 2259. 1240.

^y Vid. Canina, Archit. Egizian. part. i. cap. i. comp. cap. 2. p. 82. cap. 5. p. 141. seq.

^z Id. ib. cap. i. p. 35. sq.

^a Id. ib. cap. 2. p. 45. 47. 48.

^b Id. ib. p. 48.

^c Id. ib. p. 60—62.

^d Id. ib. p. 65—73.

decline must be dated^e: after whose times, until their revival under the Greeks, few monuments were raised, which are calculated to excite attention by their stupendous size, or elaborate execution^f.

In the course of the Arts, as here traced, nearly the same characters are developed which mark their progress in every age and country. It serves to verify, as well in the extent as the distribution, the Tablet of Abydos and the reduced Chronology; between which no essential difference will be readily discovered.

^e Id. ib. p. 81. 82.

^f Id. ib. cap. 3.

SECT. II.

The contracted Chronology confirmed in its details, by the specific testimony of the Tablet of Abydos.

THE question, between the reduced and extended systems, is not merely decided by the Abydos Tablet; but the framework of the Egyptian Chronology proved, by that ancient monument, to be accurately constructed. But its general details may be still thought to require the support of monumental evidence, with which they are observed to be occasionally at variance. As consistency is among the characteristics of truth, which can admit of no contradictions; any opposition between records, having a claim to that character, must necessarily prove, on a closer inspection, to be merely apparent. If the collection of particulars, on which a conclusion is built, be founded, as is not unfrequently the case, on a partial induction; by admitting into the premisses a few more facts, which have been overlooked, it frequently changes its character from adverse to favorable. The testimony, which has been thus deemed unfavorable, acquires its proper force and direction, when the whole truth is revealed; and tends not less clearly to establish the system, against which it has been inconsiderately urged, in its minor details, than in its general outline.

From the Tablet of Abydos, when its true character is determined, no less important results may be derived, in establishing the details, than in defining the outline of the genuine Chronology. By

the mutilation which it has suffered^a, from time or violence, its usefulness is unfortunately restricted, in confirming the royal succession. An attempt has been indeed made, to supply the defect from the Tablet of Karnac^b; but after the remarks, which have been lately passed on this monument, it may be readily supposed that the essay has been much more felicitous in the conception, than the execution. The Tablet of Abydos, which was erected at a later time^c, I shall soon take occasion to show, is a genealogy; on the assumption that the Tablet of Karnac was of the same kind, the inference was natural, that the defects of the later monument might be supplied from the earlier, as supposed to contain the first part of the succession. But the false assumption, on which this inference is founded, has been already exposed, and the pretensions of this monument to be received as a chronological record duly estimated. The two Tablets, in fact, have nothing in common, but a few of the royal shields; all order or arrangement, from which alone they could derive any practical use, being totally disregarded by that of Karnac, in their disposition: the one being as fully confirmed, as the other was contradicted, by contemporaneous monuments. So far, consequently, is the later of the two from deriving any illustration or support from the earlier;

^a Birch, *Galler. ut supr.* p. 65. sq.

^b Cullim. *Chron. Hier. Trans.* R. Soc. Lit. vol. ii. fin.

^c The Tablet of Abydos, as appears from the marginal inscription, was erected by Rameses the Great; Birch *Galler.* p. 66. That

of Karnac, as appears from a like inscription, on its margin, was erected by his ancestor, Thothmes III, whose shield occupies the 44th place on the former Tablet. Rosellin. *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. p. 133. Birch, *ib.* p. 69.

that its pretensions are at once annihilated, on their being brought into comparison.

The only monument, from which, it is supposed, the Tablet of Abydos has derived any advantage, in the restitution or repair of its obliterated shields, is that of the tomb of Nevothph, which has been discovered at Benihassen^d. As it apparently preserves a portion of the royal succession, including the 36th shield; in the two which precede it, the 34th and 35th have been consequently supposed to be recovered^e. But the testimony of this monument is no less fatal, than that of Abydos, to the pretensions of the Tablet of Karnac; 8 shields being interposed, upon it, between the two recovered shields, which directly succeed each other, on the monument at Benihassen^f. By whatever test, it thus happens to be tried, it proves to be disposed with no regard to arrangement or order.

The Tablet of Abydos must thus stand by itself; as incapable of having its deficiencies supplied, from any ancient monument. In proceeding to turn it to the best account, in elucidating the present chronological system; it may be regarded as divided into two parts, respectively coinciding with its upper and middle line, and nearly analogous to the main divisions of the Chronology^g. The earlier part of the succession, which concurs with the upper line, may be regarded as ending with Semphucrates, whose reign closed with the year B. C. 1938^h. The later part, may be regarded as commencing from the first

^d Rosellin. ut supr. tom. i. 1. 2.

p. 190.

^e Id. ibid. p. 156.

^f Conf. Rosellin. tom. i. tav.

^g Vid. Tabl. of Abyd. in Birch,

Gal. pl. 29. conf. supr. p. 132.

^h Conf. supr. p. 166.

year of the XVIIth Dynasty, which is numbered as the XIIth in the *Tomes of Manetho*. All consideration of the intermediate Dynasties, as far as the *Tablet of Abydos* is concerned, is precluded by its mutilated state; the destruction of the beginning of the second line having removed the shields of the Dynasties immediately preceding.

1. On confining our attention to the first of the preceding divisions; of the uppermost line of shields, the names upon which have been successfully decypheredⁱ, five only are found, to agree with names in the lists of the monarchs which have been compiled by *Eratosthenes* and *Manetho*. Three of them, which happen to occupy the first place among the shields which have escaped destruction, are among the most important, in the royal succession; as they appear, on historical record, to have founded the great pyramids, which are generally allowed to be the earliest structures erected in Egypt. According to *Herodotus*, by whom they are first mentioned, they were named *Cheops*, *Cephren* and *Mycerinus*^k; the two first of whom are represented as having been brothers, and the last the son of the elder. By *Diodorus*, who acknowledges this relationship, they are called *Chembris*, *Cephren* and *Mycerinus*, or *Mencherinus*^l. But according to the strict orthography of monuments, of an antiquity extending to their own times, they were termed *Shuphu*, *Shuphre* and *Menkare* or *Menikare*^m; to which the Greeks gave a softer sound and added a termination, according to their fashion of naturalising the terms of

ⁱ Birch ut supr. p. 66. sq.

^m See Birch, in *Vyse's Oper.*

^k Herod. lib. ii. cap. 124. 129.

in the *Pyr.* vol. i. p. 280. sq.

^l Diod. lib. ii. p. 57. al. 40.

a foreign language. As these names afford a striking confirmation of the earliest part of the royal succession, as collected by Eratosthenes in his *Laterculum*, and as embodied in the Tablet of Abydos, they require a more minute examination, particularly as they have given rise to some scepticism and controversy.

(1) The decyphering of Cheops, the first name, and its identification with that of Suphis, in the list of Eratosthenes, is due to Prof. Rosellini; and it appears to be the greatest triumph achieved in the phonetic system of Champollion, of which it afforded an extraordinary confirmation. He discovered it in a tomb, in the vicinity of the great pyramid; and determined its proper force, by his knowledge of the hieroglyphics and the Coptic languageⁿ. A passage having been opened, by Col. Vyse, into an upper chamber of the great pyramid, of which Cheops was known to be the founder; the name was there found, on one of the stones of the roof, and had been apparently traced upon it, before it was removed from the quarry^o. It seems impossible to conceive any stronger proof, by which the conjecture of the learned professor could have been established.

Its identification with the Suphis of Manetho, or Saophis of Eratosthenes, who had given the interpretation of this name, was no less satisfactorily effected through the Coptic. According to the Greek chronologist, that name signified *κομαστής*^p; which having been reduced by the professor to *Ⲭⲟⲣⲫⲱ*, he at once detected the source of the

ⁿ Rosellin. *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. vol. i. p. 235.

pl. i. p. 128. 130.

^p Eratosth. ap. Syncel. p. 102

^o Vyse, *ut suprà*. vol. ii. p. 112.

Greek explanation, in the ω much, and $\phi\omega$ hair, of the Coptic^q.

Of the difference, in the reading of this name, between Herodotus and Manetho, the source has been sought in the dialects of Thebes and Memphis; but we need not search for it beyond that which distinguishes the alphabets of Greece and Egypt. That the Coptic ω has no letter of an equivalent sound in the Greek alphabet, clearly appears from its forming one of the eight characters which have been added to that alphabet, to fit it for expressing the sounds of the native tongue; it has been accordingly deduced from the hieratic, which is directly derived from the hieroglyphic^r. In expressing this character, each of the Greeks rendered it in his language, by that letter, which appeared to him to come nearest to it in sound; one of them assimilating it to Σ , and the other to X , and each adding that termination to the name, which appeared best to adapt it to his vernacular language. As the differences between the Greeks, in their rendering of the name, are thus easily reconciled, both among themselves and with the Coptic; the departure of Diodorus from the precedent of his countrymen is of little or no importance. We may easily conceive, that in his endeavors to obtain a confirmation of Herodotus's authority; his inquiries after a name analogous to Cheops, could elicit nothing nearer to it than Chemis or Chembes^s. This solution of the

^q Rosellin. loc. cit.

^r Champol. Gram. p. 44. N^o.
196. comp. Salvolin. Analys. p.
86. sq.

^s According to Mr. Birch's de-

duction, it would appear, that the name communicated to Diodorus was Chnem, or Chem: ap. Vyse, ut supr. p. 281. 282.

difficulty, will be at least received as more probable than that in which it is presumed the latter names are mere variations of the preceding^t.

(2) The successor of Saophis is termed by Eratosthenes Sensaophis, but by Manetho, simply Souphis^u. The difference is at once reconciled in the fact recounted by Herodotus and Diodorus, that the former king was succeeded by his brother^v. As Prof. Rosellini has pointed out, the longer name is a compound, in which *cñ*, brother, is combined with *ϣοϣϖ*, rendered in Greek Saophis; the compound consequently signifying "the brother of Saophis^w," whom he is accordingly represented as having succeeded by Eratosthenes and Manetho^x. However dissimilar the shorter name may be thought to that of Cephres and Cephren, to whom the erection of the second of the pyramids has been ascribed; they appear to be but accidentally different. On rejecting the Greek termination, which is proved, by its variation, to be accidental and arbitrary; it appears to be the former name, with the title *ph*, signifying king, subjoined to it; for the royal title was, at the time, frequently subjoined to the name, as appears from the analogy of Menka-re, Nofreka-re and Cene-re^y, of whom more hereafter. In this view, it is directly recognised in the *PH ϣοϣϖ*, or *ϣοϣϖ-ph*, as literally expressed, on the shield of the king, in phonetic characters. The identity of the bearer of the shield, having this name, with the founder of

^t Conf. Birch, loc. cit.

^u Vid. Syncel. p. 104. 56.

^v Conf. supr. p. 267. n. k. and ^l.

^w Rosellin. ut supr. p. 130.

^x Ap. Syncel. loc. cit. supr.

n. ^u.

^y Vid. Birch ut supr. conf. Galler. of Antiq. p. 67. N^o. 13. 15. 16. 22.

the second pyramid, is placed out of dispute, by the figure of a triangle surmounted with a swallow, annexed to his name, upon ancient monuments^z. These symbols, on the received principles of interpretation, can have no meaning but 'great pyramid,' in hieroglyphic language.

(3) To these monarchs, a third is represented as succeeding, who according to Manetho, bore the name of Mencheres^a; and vied with his predecessors, in erecting a third pyramid of nearly equal dimensions. By an evident error of transcription, the name is written Moscheres, in the list of Eratosthenes^b; as might be collected from the reading of Manetho, were it not placed out of dispute, by the explanation annexed to it in the Laterculum, where it is rendered Ἡλιόδοτος^c. As transcribed into Coptic, from the hieroglyphic, it is written **Uñ-κλ-ρη**; a name which was softened into Mencheres, by the Greeks, and which fully accords with the preceding explanation. As it is directly resolvable into **Uñ** servant, **κλ** to give, and **ρη** the sun, it could not be better expressed by a compound name, than in that assigned as its equivalent by Eratosthenes. The foundation of the difference between Mencheres and Mycerinus, which is a variety of the same name, is discoverable in the hieroglyphic; from which the preceding observations are more fully confirmed. In the sacred character, Mencheres is variously written with the second symbol either single or trebled^d; by which forms the singular and the

^z Leemans, Lett. à Salvol. p. 19.
L'Hôte Lett. écr. d'Egypte, p. 147.

^a Ap. Syncel. p. 56.

^b Ap. Syncel. p. 104.

^c Ibid.

^d Both modes of expressing

in it, though he never ascended the throne, to which his uncle might have succeeded, as regent, during his own minority. As far, consequently, as the testimony of the earlier part of the Tablet of Abydos, in its present mutilated state, can be ascertained; it confirms the details of the reduced Chronology. From the investigation prosecuted in the preceding section, it appeared that they agreed in their extent and arrangement. From that which has been just closed, it is no less clear that they equally include the most distinguished monarchs who flourished in the remotest antiquity. Nor is the monumental testimony, by which the genuine Chronology is thus sustained, partial or isolated; but corroborated by inscriptions, of the same age as those ancient monarchs, as having been discovered in the pyramids which they erected.

(4) To the three preceding names have been added those of Nofre-ka-re and Ka-en-re, as discovered on the 16th and 22nd shields of the Tablet^k; which have been respectively identified with Nephhercheres and Ceneres of the Thinite succession^l. While they so far serve to authenticate this line, they create no objection to the Laterculum, as confined to the Theban. It is, however, particularly deserving of remark, that as placed, on the Tablet, and in the lists of Manetho, they occur in the same order, and at nearly equal intervals, from Menes, the founder of the monarchy^m. On the one, Nephhercheres occupies the 15th place, but the 16th in the other; from whom Ceneres is distant 1 descent, on the former, but 6 descents in the latter. When we estimate their place in the succession, by

^k Birch. ut supr. p. 67. 68. ^l Id. ib. ^m Conf. Tab. supr. p. 217.

the Theban line, which we regard as the most authentic, it appears that the dates which they are thus assigned are rather early. It must be, at the same time, allowed that, in placing them, there was considerable room for error; as there were no fewer than six kings named Nephhercheres in the same successionⁿ.

But whatever judgment may be formed on this subject, from the place assigned them in the royal succession, one inference seems unavoidable, which is alike favorable to the reduced Chronology, and unpropitious to the extended. As numbered in the IInd Dynasty by Manetho, and at the distance but of 14 degrees from Menes^o, though computed by either of those systems; they must have unquestionably belonged to the earliest part of the Succession. While any authority is allowed to the Tablet of Abydos, the interval between them and the XVIIIth Dynasty must be consequently limited to those few degrees, which tend alike to confirm the one system and to subvert the other. Even thus far, this ancient monument sustains, by its testimony, the credit of the genuine Chronology.

II. Our knowledge of the middle line of the Tablet is more definite than of the upper line; coincidences having been traced between it and other ancient monuments, by which not only the names, inscribed on its shields, have been recovered, but the order of the royal succession has been consequently determined. In proceeding to derive, from the monumental line, a confirmation of the chronological; it is necessary that the true character of each of them should be precisely ascertained. From an unlucky

ⁿ Conf. Tabl. supr. p. 217. seq.

^o Conf. *ibid*.

misconception of the nature and object of the Tablet, it has been greatly circumscribed in its usefulness. That it contains a *genealogical* line of sovereigns has been generally allowed^p; but it is singular to find the concession no sooner made, than to see it practically withdrawn in its employment as a succession of kings who were not lineally descended. It has been consequently applied, in the latter character, to establish coincidences between the monarchs, in the printed lists of sovereigns, with which we have long been acquainted, and those whose shields have been recently found, inscribed upon ancient monuments^q. The consequence of this way-

^p Vid. Leemans, ut supr. p. 43. L'Hôte. ut supr. p. 195. Hincks on the Egypt. Stele, p. 18. Birch, ut supr. p. 66. According to the version of the marginal inscription of the Tablet, by this learned hierogrammatist; it is implied, in the phrase "their son," applied, by the sovereigns, to Rameses who erected it, that he was their lineal descendant, as we are assured in Diodorus, supr. p. 139. and note ^e.

^q By Champollion, Rosellini, and their numerous followers, but the one method has been adopted in identifying the succession of Manetho, with that on the Tablet of Abydos. The object has usually been, to regard those sovereigns as the same, who occurred in nearly the same order; without any regard to the dissimilarity of their names and titles, or to their exclusion from the royal or genealogical line, on either side. The consequence has been, that

those sovereigns who were identical have been accounted different; and contrariwise, those who were different have been considered identical. Thus in the second generation, Amosis has been identified with Chebron, Amenophis I. and Thothmes I; although the first and last of these three sovereigns were excluded from the genealogy, and the last also from the monarchical succession. The error, thus incurred, at the commencement of the Dynasty, has generally extended its effects to the end of it. If Champollion has failed: when success was unattainable, we cannot be surprised at the failure of his followers: vid. Trans. of R. Soc. of Litt. vol. i. p. 208. Champ. Lett. ut supr. p. 270. Rosellin. ut supr. tom. i. pt. 1. p. 205. Wilkins. Mater. Hier. p. 78. sq. Thebes. p. 506. Leemans, Lett. ut supr. p. 43. sq.

wardness, which has been but too generally prevalent, has been commensurate to its awkwardness; the forced similarities, which have been consequently traced between the monumental and chronological lines, having tended less to the establishment of coincidences, than the production of dissimilarities. The obvious resemblance of a few names in the two lines naturally encouraged the belief, and was received as the earnest, that the remainder would be finally discovered to be identical. And the expectation might be deemed reasonable, did the similarity extend to the entire number of the sovereigns ranged upon either side. But this expectation, however reasonable, has been not merely disappointed; but the opposed names have been only remarkable for their total want of resemblance. When compared with the remaining few, which were not less distinguished for their similarity to each other; the contrast has rendered the attempt to reduce them to an identity utterly hopeless.

To extricate ourselves from these difficulties, and acquire a just estimate, how far the monumental testimony is capable of bringing confirmation to the chronological; it is therefore indispensable that the true character of the two lines of succession should be determined. When it is thoroughly understood, they will be found perfectly reconcilable, and as far as their evidence extends, it will be found to support that chronological system exclusively, which we regard as the genuine.

1. That the lists of monarchs, which have been disposed in Dynasties by Manetho, and inserted by Africanus and Eusebius in their Egyptian Chronology, constitute a royal succession, in which king

succeeds to king as distinguished from a genealogical, in which a prince succeeds his father, needs no proof; as it is universally acknowledged. Had it not been regarded as such, by those chronologists, who could have assigned those monarchs a place in their works, on no other grounds, it might be established on the internal evidence. In a strictly genealogical succession, the line of descent is conducted exclusively through the males; but in the Dynasties of Manetho, and specifically in the XIIth or XVIIth, and the XVIIIth, with which we are immediately concerned, it is occasionally interrupted by the interposition of females; the length of each reign being at the same time annexed, by which its character is distinctly marked, as forming a part of the succession^r.

2. That the line of sovereigns in the Abydos Tablet is, on the other hand, a genealogical, as distinguished from a royal succession, is not merely admitted, as I have already observed^s, but is established by the testimony of ancient, or indeed contemporaneous monuments. Our attention being, at present, limited to the middle line of the monument; the affinity may be traced through the entire genealogical line nearly as far back as there is evidence of a monarchical line, with which it may be compared, or contrasted.

To commence from the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty, with which the succession of the Tablet terminates, and which is most clearly defined; from the 51st or 52nd shield to the 49th inclusive, the pedigree of the last monarch is expressly traced on a monument at Qoorneh; namely from Rameses Sethos, to

^r Syncel. p. 60. 70. et sq.

^s Comp. supr. p. 275. n. p.

his grandfather Menephthah, through his father Osirei^t. From the 48th to the 44th shield inclusive,—from Horus namely to Thothmes Mœris,—it is traced on a slab, preserved at Thebes, which is inserted in the wall of a modern building^u. The names indeed of the sovereigns are not specified; but the number of generations is recounted, and described as amounting to four both on the tabular and the detached monument. From the 46th to the 44th shield, the line extending to three generations, between Thothmes Menito and Thothmes Mœris, is connected on the Lateran obelisk^v. From the 44th to the 42nd shield, namely from Thothmes Mœris to his grandfather Thothmes, it is connected, or I am much deceived, on a side of the Karnac obelisk^w. From these ten generations, with which the monuments have made us best acquainted, the character of the remainder of the line, which extends through times comparatively obscure, might be safely deduced, particularly when compared with the royal line of Manetho.

It may be, however, positively carried still farther back; and the same principle proved to have extended to the earliest shields of the middle line, which preserve the titles of the Osartisen family.

^t Comp. Wilkins. Thebes. p. 7. Monum. de l'Egypt. et Nubie. tom. ii. pl. clii.

^u Wilkins. Mater. Hier. pt. ii. p. 88.

^v Obel. Rom. p. 33. n. 36.

^w In an unedited work on the Karnac obelisk, and the character and religious opinions of its founder, I have undertaken to establish this point, from a compara-

tive view of the inscription on the second side, with the testimony of the Tablet of Abydos. To give even an imperfect sketch of the evidence, on which I have reached the conclusion: and which is founded on the relationship, acknowledged on both monuments between the first and third Thothmes: would far exceed the limits prescribed to these notes.

On a monument which belonged to the Chev. Anastasi, the name of Amenemhe I, which is inscribed on the 34th shield, occurs with those of two other kings, who have the titles of father and grandfather prefixed to them^x. That Osartisen I, from whom the family, so termed, was derived, belonged to the royal line, appears from the insignia with which his shield is attended, and the place assigned to his immediate descendants, in the tomb of Nevothph, at Beni-Hassen^y. And that Thothmes Mœris professed to deduce his descent from the same king has been inferred from the insertion of their names within the same shield^z, and from the first offering being made by him to Osartisen, on the Tablet of Karnac, which he dedicated^a. As both these princes are included in the royal line of the Tablet of Abydos; Sethosis, their descendant, by whom it was erected, must have sprung from the same ancestor^b.

3. When any two lines are compared, that exhibit the diversities, by which a royal succession and genealogy must be distinguished; they could be scarcely found to present any appearance, different from that which strikes us, on comparing the lists of Manetho with the shields on the Tablet. Let the point be tried by the effect, with which the attempt to assimilate them would be followed, if made on the ancestors and predecessors of our own sovereign. Nor need we ascend many degrees, to be convinced

^x Idel. Hermap. p. 231. The stele of the Chev. Anastasi is here referred to, as cited by Major Felix.

^y Leemans, Lett. ut supr. p. 34. pl. iii. iv. Rosellin. ut supr. tom. i.

p. 156. tav. ii. N^o. 26—29.

^z Leemans, *ibid.* p. 31.

^a Id. *ibid.* p. 32.

^b Birch, Gall. ut supr. p. 69. N^o. 44. p. 71. N^o. 51. 52.

that it could be productive of nothing but contradiction and incongruity. On deducing the line, for example, from George II; we find Frederick Prince of Wales and Edward Duke of Kent included in the the pedigree, but excluded from the succession. On the other hand, we have George IV. and William IV. excluded from the Queen's ancestors, but included among her predecessors. And the attempt to establish an identity between any two sovereigns in the two lines, from the similarity of their place in the succession, would end in proving, among other absurdities, that George III. was identical with his father Frederick Prince of Wales, and with his son George IV: and that Queen Victoria and her father, the Duke of Kent, were the same person^c. With no better success has every essay been attended, in the case of the XVIIIth Dynasty, by which the line of Manetho would be identified in the Tablet of Abydos.

In proceeding to the application of these principles, to the middle line of the Tablet; it must be premised, that of the 26 shields which it contained, only 18 now remain, or are legible^d. Of these, the first 5 contained the titles of sovereigns which are classed in Africanus, as Thebans, of the XIIth Dynasty^e. The 12 which directly follow are identified, by common consent, as belonging to the so-

^c These incongruities will be apparent, on drawing out the royal and genealogical succession, from George II. to the present Queen, in two columns; and applying to them the same principle, which has been generally followed, in identifying the Pharaohs of Ma-

netho's XVIIIth Dynasty by the succession of shields on the Tablet of Abydos.

^d Birch ut supr. p. 66. sq.

^e Rosellin. ut supr. tom. i. p. 157. sq. ii. 255. sq. Hincks, on the Egypt. Stele. p. 20.

vereigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as numbered in the Tomes of Manetho^f. The sovereigns, to whom these 17 shields are assigned, are equally recognised as Thebans, in the transcripts, which have been respectively made, of Manetho's work, by Africanus and Eusebius. There is, however, a marked distinction between them, which justifies their being placed in separate Dynasties, although it appears, from their juxtaposition on the Tablet, that they directly followed each other, in the succession. The kings of the earlier Dynasty reigned, when the Phœnician usurpers held Egypt in subjection^g; the monarchs of the later freed the country from their domination^h. The dominion of the latter was not merely absolute, but extended over the lower as well as the upper provinces. The restrictions imposed on the former, in both these respects, have tended to lower them in the royal scale; and justify a doubt whether the greater part, if not the whole of them, should not be regarded of a rank inferior to the monarchical. Nor is the suspicion weakened, in the least, by the place assigned to them on the Tablet of Abydos; on which they would necessarily acquire a place, as supplying some indispensable links, in the genealogy of the monarch by whom it was erected. For of this character of that monument we should never lose sight; in undertaking to deduce from it any practical illustration, by which light can be thrown on the royal succession, as distinguishable from the genealogical.

On directing our attention, more particularly, to

^f Champol. Rosellin. al. ut p. 17.
 supr. p. 275. n. 9. comp. Birch, ^g Vid. supr. p. 171. and n. 11.
 ut supr. p. 69. Hincks, ibid. ^h Ibid. conf. p. 224.

the first 5 shields which precede in the succession, and which merely contain the *prenomen*, or title; they have led to the discovery of the scutcheons containing the sovereigns' *names*, and have served to determine the order in which they succeededⁱ. It has been accordingly ascertained that they belong to a family, in which the names of Osartisen and Amenemhe predominated; the members of which have been accordingly reduced to the order prescribed in the Tablet^j. And as they have been consequently found, when thus disposed, to bear a striking similarity to a fragment of the Turin Papyrus; in which, it would appear, the precise length of each reign was originally subjoined to the name of each monarch^k: the notion has been consequently formed that the chronology of the Dynasty might be thence accurately determined.

A degree of authority has been ascribed to this document,—of which we know neither the object nor origin, and which may have been incorrectly drawn up and unfaithfully transmitted,—which is not merely silly but vulgar. From an examination of the evidence, as well internal as external, by which it must be tried, its usefulness, in the investigation which immediately engages us, would appear to be extremely limited. From a comparison of the dates, annexed in it to the XIIth Dynasty, with those of early and contemporaneous monuments, it appears that it was neither disposed as a royal pedigree or succession; in which form alone it could materially serve our present purpose. It would appear to consist merely of unconnected extracts

ⁱ Rosellin. al. ut supr. n.c. and f.

^j Hincks, al. ut supr.

^k Bunsen, Aegypt. Stell. ut supr. cit. p. 169.

from the public registers; in which an entry was made of the time, for which the magistrates severally ruled; no attention being paid to the consideration of their having exercised their authority separately or conjointly. From the dates annexed to each reign, little or no idea can be formed of their chronological distribution, or of the number of years for which the succession continued¹.

The annexed table, in which the chronological and genealogical lines are contrasted, has been drawn up,

¹ The character here given to the Papyrus may be established by evidence, which will not be refused by its advocates. Of the few Dynasties, on the chronology of which it sheds any light, the XIIth is among the most distinguished; but its disposition of the three first reigns alone will fully demonstrate, how little dependence can be placed on its authority. To Osartisen I it ascribes 45 years; to Amenemhe II, 3; and to Osartisen II, 19. *conf. Leps. Ausw. taf. iv, v.* It appears, however, from a monument at Leyden *ap. Leemans ut supr. p. 34. pl. iv. N^o. 37.* that the 44th year of Osartisen I synchronised with the 2nd of Amenemhe II: and from an inscription, on the rocks between Philæ and Assouan, that the 35th of Amenemhe II, synchronised with the 3rd of Osartisen II. *ap. Leps. ib. taf. x.* From the evidence of these monuments we may consequently draw the following inferences: (1) That of these partnerships in the kingdom, no notice is taken in the Papyrus; though essential to the

distribution of the chronology.

(2) That at least 32 years are subtracted from the middle reign, to which it assigns but 3 years, while 35 are assigned to it, on the rock inscription. (3) That it apparently reckons these 3 years twice over; first, in the 45 years of Osartisen I, who reigned but 42 by himself; and again, in the 3 assigned to Amenemhe II, who was admitted to a partnership in the kingdom, in the 43rd of Osartisen I, if any credit be due to the Leyden inscription. (4) From the 1st and 3rd of these objections, it may be inferred that the reigns are set down in the Papyrus without any view to determine the length or duration of the succession. It can be, consequently, of little or no use to the chronologist; however it might have served the purpose of a register, in which the entry of documents would be dated from the year of the governor, under whom they were executed, without any regard to his share in the sovereign authority.

after a careful examination of the evidence as well monumental as written or printed. It has been formed on the principle suggested by the Chev. Bunsen; who justly observes, that Eratosthenes has supplied the key to the succession^m. In the column to the right, that part of the Laterculum is inserted, with its proper date annexed to each reign, from which the chronological distribution of the table has been effectedⁿ. In that to the left, those kings are disposed, of whom notice is taken, in the Tablet of Abydos, and Turin Papyrus, and are placed in the order which they are ascribed in those documents. In determining the probable length of each reign, a preference has been given to those dates, which seem best calculated to reconcile the contrary testimony of the opposed authorities.

SUCCESSION.

Mixed Genealogical.	Reigns.	Monarchical.	B. C.
Amenemhe II.	23—23	Amenemhe II.	23—1832
Osartisen II.	9	Sesortasen II.	55—1809
—with Amenem. II.	46		
Ameres alone	8	Mares	43—1754
—with Osartis. III.	8		
—with Amen. III.	14		
—with Amen. IV.	9		
Q. Semeophre	4	Termination	1711

(1) In asserting that Eratosthenes has supplied the key to the succession, no more is intended than that he has determined the number and order of the monarchs, and expressed the period of their government. The principle, on which his arrangement is formed, is in fact of the simplest kind; and strictly

^m Vid. supr. p. 169.

ⁿ Vid. ib. p. 172.

conformable to his object, as purposing merely to trace the royal succession. He accordingly notices only the legitimate successors to the throne, without any regard to the interruptions or partnerships, which might have arisen in the course of their government. He has consequently distributed the period, for which it was exercised, into three reigns, consisting respectively of 23, 55 and 43 years; within the limits of which, several persons of subordinate, though royal rank, appear to have acquired some share in the government.

(2) The length assigned to the reigns of the column, to the left, have been generally made out, by an accommodation of the testimony of the monuments, but with some regard to the disposition of the papyrus. In the latter, however, it has been found necessary to make one or two corrections. Independent of the 3 years, ascribed in it to Amenemhe II, of which I have spoken elsewhere, as included in the 45 years independently assigned to his predecessor^o: I have ventured to withdraw 10 years from the 19 ascribed to Osartisen II, and to add them to the 4 years assigned to Amenemhe III. The division in the reign of Osartisen II finds authority in an inscription in the tomb of Nevothph; from whence it would appear that, after the 9th year of his reign, he shared the throne, for some years, with Amenemhe II, whom he had deposed or superseded, during that period^p. In the distribution of the last 5 reigns, the testimony of Africanus and the papyrus is occasionally followed, respect being paid to the higher authority of Eratosthenes.

^o Vid. *supr.* p. 283. n. 1.

^p Rosel. *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. p. 158.

(3) On comparing the royal with the genealogical line, we find them disclose no unusual differences, while they exhibit the requisite similarities, by which two such lines are generally characterised. The likeness between them extends, as might be supposed, to the three reigns, in which the royal succession was properly continued : Amenemhe II, Osartisen II and Ameres being recognised, on both sides, as having succeeded each other, in the same order, and, as it would seem, at the same intervals. The similarities are so far complete, on which the confirmation depends, which the Chronology receives from the monumental evidence. To account for the differences between the two lines, we must have recourse to the supposition, that Ameres having died, without leaving a son to succeed him ; the genealogical line was necessarily deduced from his father and predecessor Osartisen II ; and thence conducted through Osartisen III, Amenemhe III, and Amenemhe IV, or Remeitauo, as we observe on the Tablet of Abydos^q. In the latter instance, the royal and genealogical lines no farther admit of reconciliation, than the reign of the monarch, on the one side, and the government of the princes his contemporaries, on the other, can be proved to have been contemporaneous ; of which the length of the reigns, on either side, would appear to convey a strong presumption^r.

When due allowance is, therefore, made for the different character of lines, distinguished like the royal and the genealogical ; it must be concluded that, thus far, the testimony of this ancient monument, is as favorable, as could be in reason expected,

^q Birch, Galler. ut sup. p. 69.

^r Conf. supr. p. 283. n. ¹.

to the present Chronology. Its testimony, however it may be excepted against as superabundant, cannot be objected to as adverse ; as it recognises the sovereigns through whom the succession was continued ; and in exceeding them in number, it merely sustains its proper character as a genealogy, in which other princes, besides those who occupied the throne, were of necessity included.

III. These observations apply, with equal force, to the 12 succeeding shields, in which hieroglyphmatists have discovered the titles of the monarchs of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as I have already intimated. The testimony borne, by the genealogical line, to the royal succession is, however, still more complete and conclusive. The similarities between them are more numerous ; and the differences between them, originating in their contrary character, chiefly arise from the deficiency in the number of links, by which the tabular line is connected, towards the close of the Dynasty.

In tracing those similarities, by which the same monarch may be identified in the royal and genealogical line, I shall limit myself strictly to the likeness in their names and titles. It may be fairly concluded that those sovereigns who possessed the same appellation were identical, more particularly, if occurring, in both lines, in the same order, and at equal, or nearly equal intervals. The converse of this rule may be regarded as holding equally good ; and those sovereigns who were differently termed may be consequently concluded to be different persons. The supposition that the same sovereigns were generally or extensively known under totally different names, is not only opposed to experience and

probability^s: but should it be received for true, it could lead to no practical inference; as dissimilarities, however calculated to establish a diversity, can afford no proof of identity, between any two persons.

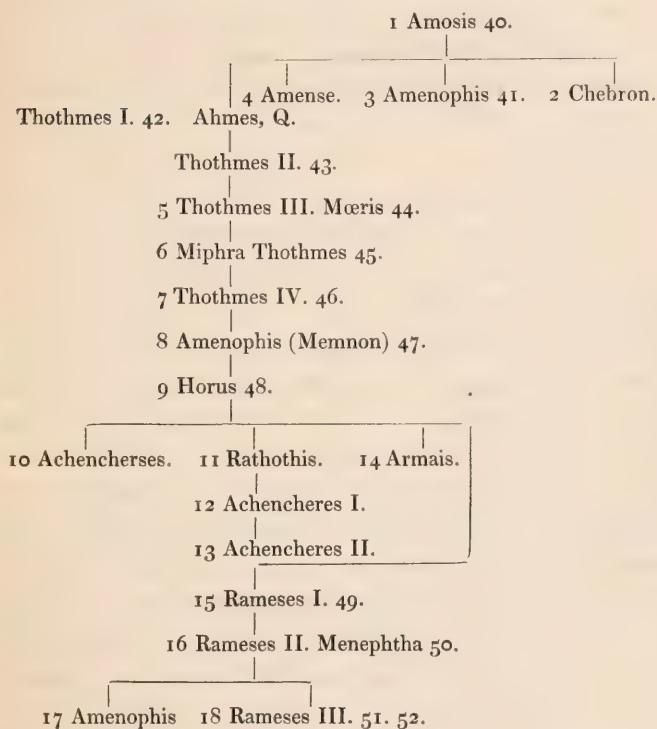
On these principles the annexed Table has been constructed. Those sovereigns who are similarly named, in both lines, are accordingly regarded as identical. On the one side, every prince has been rejected from the monarchical line, who is not included in the chronological succession; and on the other, every prince is discarded from the direct line, who is not included in the tabular succession. When the two lines are thus exhibited in a comparative view; those sovereigns will be easily recognised, who united both characters in their person, as having been of the genealogical line, as well as the monarchical. Among such exclusively can those examples be found, in which the chronological records can derive positive confirmation from the monumental. Between those sovereigns who belonged exclusively to either line, there could be no ground of comparison, much less proof of identity. And from the principle on which the different lines were constructed, it would necessarily result, that several of each kind

^s Nothing can be less satisfactory than the reason assigned by Champollion, for these differences; although adopted, for want of a better, by Prof. Ideler, Hermap. p. 222. Why it may be asked (1) should Manetho not have adopted "the *received* reading," as well as the sculptor? (2) Why should he have adopted

different courses; sometimes following, and sometimes rejecting the monumental reading? (3) Why should an identity between two names be assumed from their diversity; when the difference is at once explained, by supposing it to have arisen from the necessary discrepancy between a genealogical and monarchical succession?

would find a place in a Table, in which they were indiscriminately included.

Royal and Genealogical Succession.



The kings who ranked in the genealogical and monarchical line are easily distinguished in the preceding Table, by the figures which precede and follow them; which are respectively the numbers, of the shields on the Tablet of Abydos, and of the reigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty, as transcribed by Josephus from Manetho. Those of the genealogy have the numbers *subjoined*, from 40 to 52, inclusive; while those of the monarchical succession have them *pre-*

fixed, from 1 to 18 inclusive. The sovereigns, of course, who held a place in both lines, are easily discriminated, as they are *preceded* and *followed* by figures, which indicate their place in both successions. Among such, it must be obvious, examples of that coincidence must be mainly, if not exclusively sought, by which the royal chronological line can derive confirmation, from the tabular or genealogical.

From a cursory inspection of the above Table, it will appear, that two of the immediate followers of Amosis, as having no numbers prefixed, had not attained monarchical rank; and that five of the descendants of Horus, as having no figures subjoined, though of the royal line, formed no part of the pedigree of Sethosis. On these discrepancies between the royal and the genealogical line, and which raise the only obstacle to their perfect assimilation, it cannot be deemed inexpedient, that I should dwell, previously to the production of those coincidences, on which my main dependence is founded. As it is only reasonable to conclude that such differences were to be naturally expected between the opposed lines; it may be shown that they are not without that authority, by which the succession on both sides is authenticated. While the documents, from which they are respectively derived, are so far confirmed; from comparing them, it will appear, that no objection arises, from their disagreement, to that conclusion, which it is my chief aim to establish.

(1) That the shields of the first and second Thothmes, are interpolated in the pedigree of Sethosis, is not merely probable from the alliance of the first prince of the name with Amosis, whose daughter

Almes he married^s; but seems capable of being proved from contemporary monuments. Those who admit that Amense and Thothmes III. were brother and sister^t, will not find it possible to reconcile the relationship with the number of descents, by which they are separated in the tabular succession^u. Unless we suppose it interpolated with at least two generations, he must have been at the same time, the grandson of Almes and her contemporary or equal; as presumed to be the contemporary of her sister Amense, and her brother Amenophis.

As I conceive the notion of this relationship, between Amense and Thothmes III, who were unquestionably contemporary, to be founded in a mistake, though I admit it to be supported by the highest authority^v; I shall not particularly urge the

^s Wilkins. Thebes, p. 95. pl. 1. r. Bunsen ut supr. 3 B. s. 79. The pedigree of Dynasty XVIII, drawn up by the learned Chevalier, is however exposed to the common objection of confounding the monarchical and genealogical succession: by which the first and second Thothmes are not merely obtruded into the former line, but supplant Chebron and Amense, on the principle and after the example, noticed supr. p. 275. n. 4.

^t Birch, Galler. p. 118. Leemans Lett. ut supr. p. 56. It must be, however, acknowledged, that this learned antiquary who pronounces Thothmes Mœris to be the son of Amense on the authority of Eusebius, (ed. Med. p. 112.) citing Josephus: justifies the title of "brother," assigned by him to that prince, by ascrib-

ing him an anonymous sister. Mr. Birch, on the contrary, justly determining that the obliterated shield, on the monument to which they equally refer, belonged to Amense, seems to have thence inferred that Mœris was her brother. Conf. infr. n.^v.

^u Vid. Birch, Galler. p. 69. N^o. 40—44: in which Thothmes I. and Thothmes II. are interposed between Amenophis I, the brother of Amense, and Thothmes III, her supposed son, or brother.

^v The decision of this question depends on the force of the group



in the inscription referred to supr. n. t. and which

the learned hierogrammatists, there cited, agree in rendering "together with her brother:" conf. Birch, ut supr. p. 79. 118.

inconsistency, which it thus involves, in proof of the extension of the succession by extraneous generations. The point seems capable of establishment from a monument, in a temple at Samneh, which details the rewards by which an officer, surnamed Pensuben, was distinguished, who commended himself to the 5 first princes, who lineally succeed each other in the preceding Table^v. On regarding their reigns as successive, and computing by them the length of his service, it must have amounted to nearly 66 years; on which Mr. Birch, who has decyphered the inscription, justly observes, "this would be a length of military service, unprecedented in the annals of the world^x."

There appears to me to be only one mode of evading this objection, which is directly suggested by the royal succession of Manetho, that it consequently serves to confirm indirectly. If we follow his authority, in rejecting the two first Thothmes from the monarchical line; assigning them, at the same time, a royal and contemporary, but sub-

If the first character is understood as the figurative of a *prince*, which it appears to me to resemble much more than that of a *brother*; the objections, stated *supr.* n. ^u, will disappear: cf. Champ. Gram. p. 242. I am inclined, however, to believe that the group may be expressed in Coptic, by ⲉⲟⲩⲓⲧ ⲉⲟⲩⲓ, "the prince, approximated, or adopted;" the characters, annexed to the figurative, expressing phonetically ⲉⲟⲩⲓ, to approach, be near: conf. Peyron, Dict. p. 355-360. Thothmes I. having married Ahmes, the sister of Ameno-

phis I. and Amense; his grandson, Thothmes III, was their grand nephew. On assuming that this prince lived under the regency of Amense,—by whom, it would seem, he was adopted, in consequence of her having no child:—the assumption is perfectly consistent, if we suppose her his grand aunt, but quite the reverse, if we suppose her his sister: conf. *infr.* p. 308, n. ^s.

^v Birch, Obs. on the Stat. Tabl. of Karnac. Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit. N. S. vol. ii. p. 325.

^x Id. *ibid.* p. 326.

ordinate government, with the three immediate successors of Amosis: we may account satisfactorily for the rewards with which the veteran's services were requited, while we reduce the time of them within reasonable limits. And this view of the subject derives no slight support from the order in which he recounts his royal benefactors; the last place being assigned by him to the first and second Thothmes, in which no slight intimation is conveyed that their rank was subordinate.

From a comparative view of the conflicting evidence, on both sides, it seems capable of being reconciled, only on the following hypothesis. In the admission of Thothmes I. into the genealogical line; it would appear he was substituted for his wife, Ahmes; through whom the line was really continued^y. As the three other children of Amosis had no offspring; his line must have failed altogether, unless continued through that daughter, who bore a male successor. The two first of the Thothmes race, who were thus grafted into the line, instead of having succeeded Amenophis; were contemporary with him, and his predecessor Chebron, and successor Amense; by whom the throne was occupied 56 years, according to the computation of the royal succession by Manetho^z. On calculating the period of Pensuben's services, by the length of these monarchs' reigns; it may be thus brought within natural and probable limits. Had he made his first campaign, when 21, at the close of Amosis' reign; he might have merited reward, as a veteran, when 60, at the commencement of the reign of Thothmes Moëris. And if he accompanied this prince in his

^y Vid. *supr.* p. 291. n. ^s.

^z Vid. *supr.* p. 180.

earlier expeditions; the period of his active service, still further admits of a considerable reduction.

(2) The rejection of the 5 immediate successors of Horus, from the genealogy of Sethosis, may be sustained, on the positive authority of Diodorus. Between "Mœris who dug the lake above Memphis," and that renowned monarch, he expressly numbers "7 generations:" in strict accordance with the tabular succession^a, from which the immediate descendants of Horus, though recognised by Manetho, are discarded. It should be at the same time remembered, that the strictest conformity subsists on these subjects, between the historian and the invaluable monument which engages our attention.

For the perfect reconciliation of its testimony, in rejecting these 5 descendants of Horus with that of Manetho, by whom, as I have intimated, they are retained; it may not be inexpedient to show, how Armais and Rameses, his two youngest sons, might have succeeded their elder brother Rathothis and his progeny, in consequence of the failure of issue, or some alteration in the succession. The following Table will prove these changes in the succession to have been perfectly within the course of nature:

Kings.	Birth.	Accession.	Age.	Death.	Age.
Horus	B.C. 1486	B. C. 1462 ...	24	B. C. 1426 ...	60
Achencherses ...	1465	..... 1426 ...	39	..... 1414 ...	51
Rathothis	1464	..... 1414 ...	50	..... 1405 ...	59
Achench. I.	1443	..... 1405 ...	38	..... 1393 ...	50
Achench. II. ...	1422	..... 1393 ...	29	..... 1381 ...	41
Armais	1447	..... 1381 ...	66	..... 1377 ...	70
Rameses	1446	..... 1377 ...	69	..... 1376 ...	70

^a Diod. lib. ii. p. 34. al. 48. a. comp. the Gen. Tabl. supr. p. 289. Rameses I. is accordingly

admitted to have been the son of Horus. Vid. Birch. Galler. ut supr. p. 70.

The dates assigned to the *accession* and death of each sovereign are adopted from those inserted in the tables of Manetho^b: and from them the accompanying dates of the birth and age are computed. The very short time assigned by that writer to the reigns of Armais and Rameses, the former of which extended but to 4 years, and the latter to 1 year^c, sufficiently indicates that they were advanced in life when they ascended the throne. As the date of their birth must be thus thrown back to the reign of Horus; it so far appears that, as they were royal and born when he reigned, they were sons of that monarch. A necessary consequence of Rameses being succeeded by his son Rameses Menephtha, would be the exclusion of all the brothers of the former with their progeny, from the genealogy of the latter, and consequently from that of his grandson Sethos. As it would thus pass, without interruption, from Horus to his son Rameses, it would precisely accord with the preceding Table, and so far afford it the requisite confirmation.

If the distance of 16 years between the birth of Rathothis the first son, and of Armais the third son of Horus, be considered too great; a difficulty which will disappear under the supposition of a second marriage, contracted when he was 39: on assuming that all his sons were born, after each other, at the interval of 5 years, the result will be as follows:

Kings.	Birth.	Accession.	Age.	Death.	Age.
Rathothis	B. C. 1464	B. C. 1414	50	B. C. 1405 ...	59
Armais	1459	1405	78	1377 ...	82
Rameses	1454	1377	77	1376 ...	84

(3) From a just estimate of the monumental and

^b Vid. *supr.* p. 180.

^c *Ibid.*

chronological lines of succession, it is thus obvious, that they contain no *differences* which cannot be explained, and reconciled with the notion that they are respectively authentic documents. Those differences necessarily afford no evidence of identities; by which alone the chronological succession could be confirmed from the testimony of the monumental. They tend no further, of course, to sustain each other, than as they prove, on examination, to be consistent and natural, as well when regarded apart, as in comparison; exhibiting no discrepancies but such as belong to documents of the same kind, and necessarily arise from their dissimilar characters.

On the *similarities* a stress should be rather laid, which are sufficiently extended and close, to prove that the testimony of this ancient monument brings every requisite support to the present chronological system. On throwing out those sovereigns, on each side, which belonged exclusively to the genealogy or succession, those which remain present that identity in their names which can alone establish an identity in the opposed persons. On an inspection of the annexed lists, respectively composed of sovereigns in the Tablet of Abydos and the royal Succession of Manetho, it will be seen that they agree not only in the order in which they are disposed in those documents, but in the orthography of their names, as far as the genius of two languages allows, which differ as widely as the Greek and Coptic. On the authority of Manetho, I have however introduced the name of Amense into the royal line, after that of her brother Amenophis^c. Both names are found

^c Vid. *supr.* p. 180. comp. Wilkins. Thebes, p. 510. Birch, *ut supr.* p. 78.

associated in a tomb at Qoorneh, generally known as the Chamber of Queens, and containing the different relations of that monarch, who is there seen seated beside his consort, and has the name Amenophth, expressed in a shield, immediately behind him^d. Among the list of his relations, which includes his father, mother, wife and sisters, the name of Amentsi occurs, in a shield with the epithet, "royal sister" annexed to it.

Manetho.	Monuments.	Accession.
1 Amosis	Amos	B. C. 1625
3 Amenophis	Amenophth	1581
4 Amensis	Amentsi	1560
5 Mæris	Maire	1538
7 Thothmosis ...	Thothmes	1501
8 Amenophis	Amenophth	1492
9 Horus	Hor	1462
14 Armais	Rameses	1381
15 Rameses	Rameses	1376
16 Amenophath ..	Menephtha	1319

On a cursory review of the above names, it may be concluded, from the frequent recurrence of some of them, that they were favorite or family appellatives. Such is the name of Thothmes, which was borne by several of the earlier sovereigns of the XVIIIth dynasty, as that of Ramesses was assumed by the later: the epithet Meiamon, or Amonmai, being often joined to the latter, as expressive of the devotion of the bearer to the patron divinity of Thebes. This attachment to a favorite name has been carried to a puerile and ostentatious excess, on the monuments; obviously on account of the splendor shed around it, by the public works or military achieve-

^d Burt. Excerpt. pl. xxxv. comp. Birch, loc. cit.

ments of the sovereign, by whom it was first ennobled. It has thus consequently superseded the common name, examples of which are less frequently observed upon monuments. Obstacles have been consequently raised, in the same proportion, to the discovery of such identities, as it is my object to establish. The addition of a shield enclosing the title or device of the monarch, with which that containing his proper name was usually attended, served to discriminate him, among others who took the favorite appellation. But the chronologist, who also had to distinguish the sovereigns inserted in his succession of kings, was debarred the use of the achievement by which he was thus characterised in inscriptions. He was thus reduced to the necessity of adopting the contrary principle to that of the sculptor: he has consequently distinguished them by their more familiar, instead of their favorite or more ambitious appellatives. To this difference between the object of both, we must attribute the variation in the names of the last sovereigns of the XVIIIth dynasty. The occurrence of the proper names of the latter in inscriptions being consequently more rare; the possibility of comparing them with those preserved by the chronologist is necessarily precluded.

In a few instances, the medium through which the names have reached us has subjected them to a change, which destroys the similarity, on which alone a comparison can be founded. This is apparently the case with those of Armais and Sethos or Sethosis, which have been altered, in compliance with Greek prepossessions, which were not without their influence on Manetho, who wrote in that language. The tradition of the colonisation of Greece,

by Danaus and Armais, which, as flattering their national vanity, was readily adopted by the Egyptians, gave rise to the corruption of the name Rameses into Armais and Armesses^e. The result of this error, by which the ancient and modern chronologists have been equally misled, has been the transfer of that event from the eighth to the fourteenth reign of the Dynasty^f. The name also of Sethos, or Sethosis, as it was altered by the Greeks, has been apparently substituted for Rameses, to distinguish this monarch, among those, who bore that favorite title. The historian Diodorus readily adopted these prepossessions, from his countrymen resident in Egypt, which, he assures us, he visited. He accordingly identifies, by that name, which has been adopted in the chronology of Manetho and his copyists, the monarch who is more generally known as Sesostris^g.

However this diversity, in the name of the same monarch, has contributed to reduce the number of similarities between the printed and monumental records; it has not materially affected the conclusion, which may be deduced from the resemblance. The induction of particular likenesses is still sufficiently ample to establish all that I am interested in proving. When the affinity between the ten names, which have been contrasted^h, is taken into account, with the order in which they occur on the monuments; the identity of the monarchs, who were so termed, cannot admit of a question.

When the necessary allowance is thus made for the discrepancies between successions, so essentially

^e Vid. Syncel. p. 72.

^f Ibid. p. 73. a.

^g Diod. supr. cit. p. 113.

^h Vid. supr. p. 297.

different as the monarchical and the genealogical ; it may be confidently concluded, that the testimony borne by this ancient monument rather exceeds than falls short of what might be expected from a document of its nature. In its details, it contributes to verify the present Chronology, no less than was formerly observed of its extent, order and general outline. The testimony, thus borne by it, to the accuracy of the present system, extends through the whole of the contrasted lines ; and fails only where their natural discrepancy rendered the expectation of a similarity unreasonable. Nor should it be forgotten, that this testimony is not drawn, or extorted from a witness, partially chosen ; but is offered by one, which chance has presented. The monument, on which it is inscribed, is not only unique, but has reached us in that mutilated state, from which we are at liberty to conclude, that, if not more conclusive, it would have been more complete, had it not been deduced from a fragment of the original Tablet. It may be thus taken as a specimen of that evidence, which the ancient sculptures would have supplied, had the remains of the public works, executed in other times, and under inferior Dynasties, equalled those which the sovereigns of the eighteenth constructed. Although, when regarded separately, and distinct from all similar monuments, the testimony, which it supplies, is marked by such characters of clearness and precision, as well as venerable antiquity, as render it almost definitive.

SECT. III.

The Egyptian Chronology tested and proved, by the testimony deduced from detached monuments.

THE superiority of the evidence, borne by the Tablet of Abydos, to that which may be derived from detached monuments, arises from the disposition of the royal shields in chronological order. Could we certainly conclude, as has been over hastily inferred, that the year of each king's reign, which is inscribed on those isolated tablets, was deduced from the precise date of his accession to the throne; their testimony, in recording particular dates, as much more distinct, would be, in many instances, much more conclusive.

As we might, however, naturally conclude, had we no evidence of the fact; the years on these tablets, instead of being deduced from such an epoch, are frequently dated from the establishment of the governor, whose name they bear, in a district or principality. As many of the Egyptian sovereigns were advanced to this rank, before they succeeded to the throne; the necessary result has been, that their reigns, as computed from the time of their earliest promotion, have been protracted beyond the just length, which they are assigned in a connected, and well-arranged Chronology. Instances might be even cited, in which the years of active service, spent by officials under the crown, and wholly incompatible with the rank of the monarch, have been mistaken for the years in which they occupied the throne: and a charge of incurable error consequently

brought against the Greek chronologists, by whom they were justly computed.

That the Egyptians were subject to the same pride or ambition, by which parents have been ever moved, to see their offspring invested, even from the earliest age, with honor and authority, cannot be reasonably doubted, while it is allowed that mankind are subject to the same weaknesses and predilections, in all climes and ages. On admitting that a prince was thus raised to a principality; nothing seems more natural than that the inscriptions, which recorded the acts under his government, should date their occurrence from the year of its commencement. The observation may be extended, from authority, thus ceded by the monarch to a young and favorite son, to that acquired by one of maturer years, from conquest or cession, previously to his accession to the kingdom. Such an event would form a remarkable epoch, from which all the acts that occurred under the new ruler, and were deemed worthy of being recorded, would be necessarily dated.¹ Instances of this practice, in the eastern and the western world, are so notorious^a, that it must be superfluous to cite them. How the contrary practice could have been observed, of dating every event from the year of the prince's subsequent accession to the throne, which could not be often ascertained, involves so many difficulties, in the bare conception, as not to admit of explanation.

It may be further observed of these early deputations to posts of honor and authority, that, in a practical view, they amounted to an admission to a partnership in the kingdom. Perhaps the most re-

^a See the author's Warburton Lectures, p. 406. sq. 477. sq.

markable is that of Thothmes III, who took a leading part in the government of two sovereigns, who at the time were in the exercise of supreme authority. It appears, on the plainest evidence of contemporary monuments, that he was not only admitted, by his immediate predecessor, but that he admitted his son and successor, to a partnership in the kingdom^b. While the bounds of contiguous reigns were thus left undefined, from the exercise of a common authority; it must be obvious, that they who possessed a slighter knowledge of the royal succession, than was attainable by persons circumstanced like Eratosthenes and Mantho, must have been incompetent to the task of assigning to each reign, in a succession of kings, its definite limits. And as it appears, on the evidence of the monuments, erected in those very reigns, that the computed years of one king included those of his predecessor or successor, and occasionally of both^c; how preposterous must be the undertaking of those, who would adduce such evidence, in correction of the length assigned to any reign, in the digested chronology of the ancients! How perfectly absurd are those essays, in which the proof of incurable errors is adduced, from such evidence, against the early compilers; who had access to the same sources of information, as ourselves, together with many which were equally authentic, and much more extensive and ancient!

When these observations are allowed their due weight; the inference will not appear to be strained, that comparatively few, among the various inscrip-

^b See Birch on the Obel. of the
Atmeidan: Trans. of R. Soc. of

Lit. ut supr. vol. ii. p. 220. 221.

^c Conf. supr. p. 283. n. 1.

tions that possess dates, are calculated to throw any direct light, on the chronology of the royal succession. They may be classed according to the nature of those dates, which may either equal or exceed the number of years, assigned, in the reduced Chronology, to the monarch's reign, by whose shield they are distinguished. From our present estimate, of course, those inscriptions may be rejected, which merely record dates of a fewer number of years than those of the entire reign; the length of which we are chiefly, if not exclusively, interested in deciding. And even of the former inscriptions, it can only happen, by some rare concurrence of circumstances, that those which have dates, agreeing in the number of years with the length of a particular reign, can lead to any certain conclusion^d; as it cannot be directly inferred that the reign, of which it happens to express the precise length, was not prolonged beyond the years which it numbers. In the only remaining case, wherein the years of the date exceed those of the reign; the inference, though adverse, would be definitive, could we be assured that the years were numbered from that of the monarch's accession. But where the force of the preceding observations is allowed, the inference is no more conclusive, in the last case, than in both the preceding: as there are no means of determining, from the internal evidence, that the superabundant years have not been reckoned from the date of the sovereign's admission to a partnership in the throne, pre-

^d Of this description is the IV; on which I shall take occasion to enlarge in the following tablet in the chapel, erected between the forepaws of the Sphinx, Section. which was inscribed by Thothmes

vious to the death of the monarch, his immediate predecessor. As the length of their respective reigns is besides determined, on independent and adequate grounds in the received Chronology; its authority must decide, in favor of the latter supposition, as the more reasonable. The testimony, which is thus balanced, between the monumental and chronological date, is merely presumptive, on the one side; but is positive on the other. The latter also receives support from the system, of which it is an essential part, and which cannot stand if it fails; but which, while it stands, must sustain it, in maintaining its proper integrity.

I. Those detached monuments are necessarily very few, in consequence of the want of chronological characters, from which the received system can derive illustration or amendment. They may be probably reduced to two kinds; those, namely, in which the recorded date of a king exceeds the years ascribed to his reign; and those in which a period is defined, in which the reign of more than one monarch is included. The testimony of the former, as opposed to the received Chronology, requires, of course, to be reconciled to its computations. As the latter follow the same mode of distribution with it, in which the reigns are regarded, as successive and unmixed; they necessarily supply a criterion, by which its accuracy may be tested, particularly as they possess the requisite chronological characters.

1. Previously to the Osartisen, or XVIIth Dynasty, no dated monuments have been discovered, from which the native Chronology can derive illustration^e. While this Dynasty reigned, several were

^e Conf. supr. p. 165. n.^w.

inscribed, but the dates of which are of little or no use to the chronologist, as numbering fewer years than those ascribed to the reign of the monarch, under whom they were erected. It will suffice merely to observe, very cursorily, on this subject, that inscriptions are cited by antiquaries, which record the 9th, 13th, 14th, 33rd and 44th of Osartisen I^f; the 9th, 27th, and 35th of Amenemhe II^g; the 14th of Osartisen IIIrd^h; the 3rd of Amenemhe III: and perhaps some others of a like description. Of these dates, the 44th of Osartisen I. and the 35th of Amenemhe II.ⁱ alone are deserving of remark, as being in excess; for the 37th year appears to be ascribed to the latter king, by an error, or misprint, for the 27th^j.

It must be surely allowed to be somewhat remarkable, that, where a date is thus found to be in excess, when compared with the reign of a monarch; we should generally have evidence of a partnership in the throne, by which the supernumerary years are easily disposed of. I formerly referred to monuments, from which it appeared that the 44th year of Osartisen I. synchronised with the 2nd of Amenemhe II; and the 35th of Amenemhe II. with the 3rd of Osartisen II.^k By the former synchronism, the earlier reign was reduced from 44 to 42 years; and by the latter, the later reign from 35 to 32 years: each of them being computed separate and distinct, as they are exclusively considered in a monarchical succession. From a comparative view of the evidence, as well monumental as chrono-

^f Leemans, Lett. p. 33.

^g Id. *ibid.* p. 39.

^h Id. *ibid.* p. 40.

ⁱ Id. *ibid.* p. 39.

^j Id. *ibid.* p. 40.

^k Conf. *supr.* p. 283. n. 1.

gical, I have already shown that Amenemhe II. was supplanted, for 9 years by Osartisen II¹, but was restored, after that time, to a partnership in the throne, which he continued to enjoy, for at least three years, after his restoration. The reign of Osartisen II, on the other hand, was prolonged 46 years, after his assumption of a partner in the throne; as appears from the reign of 55 years, which is assigned to him in the *Laterculum*^m. In this view, the computation of Eratosthenes is preserved, while the testimony of the monuments is respected. In assigning their proper length to the three reigns, to which this Dynasty is reduced, in the present system, the tabular computation thus appears to be perfectly reconcilable to the chronologicalⁿ: the object is thus far accomplished, which it is my immediate aim to establish.

2. Among the various monuments which were inscribed under Dynasty XVIII, few shed any direct light on its Chronology. Although they record particular years of the ruling sovereign, as the 22nd of Amosis and the 11th of Amenophis III^o; they lead to no conclusive result, as the dates are exceeded by the number of years in the reign of the sovereign.

A remarkable exception to this rule occurs in some monuments, erected under Thothmes III; in which his incursions into Asia and Africa are recorded^p. On an ancient Tablet at Karnac, 42 years

¹ Conf. supr. p. 285. et n. p.

^m Conf. supr. p. 166. 172.

ⁿ Conf. supr. p. 172. and p. 284.

^o Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i.

pt. i. p. 195. Leemans, ut supr. p. 76.

^p See the Statist. Tablet of Karnac, with the translation and learned comment of Mr. Birch; Trans. of R. S. of Lit. N. S. vol. ii. p. 317. sq. By this valuable contribution to a branch of litera-

are ascribed to this monarch^a; whose reign is reduced to 12 years 9 months, by Manetho: and the higher date is apparently confirmed by an inscription on the back of a colossal statue of his grandfather Thothmes^r.

It is surely deserving of special remark, in the present instance, as in the preceding, that when we have evidence of the extension of a reign beyond its just length, we find it generally accompanied with monumental proof of a partnership in the throne, which neutralises the adverse testimony. It appears from more than one monument, that Thothmes III. admitted his son and successor, Amenophis II, to a share in the government; from whence, it would appear, this prince acquired the name of Miphramuthosis^s. The combined length of the two reigns,

ture, in which Mr. Birch confess-
edly takes the lead; its character
for great usefulness, as well as
high interest, would be redeemed,
had that able hieroglyphicist af-
forded no other proof of his skill
as a decypherer, and his resources
as an illustrator of the recondite
learning of the Egyptians.

^a Birch, *ibid.* p. 318. The extent, thus ascribed to this reign, as surpassing the 25 years, to which it has been extended by the discoveries of Dr. Lepsius, renders any reference to the latter, as included in it, quite superfluous: comp. Birch, on the Obel. of the Atmeidan, *ibid.* p. 220.

^r Birch *loc. cit.* comp. Rosellin. *Mon. Stor.* tom. iii. pt. 1. p. 125. sq.

^s Thothmes III. took, with his proper name, the title **ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲏ**,

and, with the article, **ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲏ**, 'sun-loved, loving the sun;' which was rendered by the Greeks, *Μοιρῆς*, *Μοιφρῆς*, but corrupted into *Μύρις*, *Μιφρῖς*, *Μίσφρις*: cf. Rosellin. *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. pt. 1. p. 232. Ungaril. Obel. Rom. p. 16. n. 35. 60. 153. Leemans *ut supr.* p. 57. sq. pl. viii. No. 98. ix. 99. 102. Had the son of Mœris retained the paternal name, as seems probable from its having been assumed by his own son, and by his ancestors for several generations; the compound **ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲏ ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲏ** **ⲙⲉⲓⲣⲏ** would indicate that union of the sovereign authority, which appears from the monuments, to have obtained in the son's life-time: comp. *inf. n. t.* The standards of the father, justify the assumption that his au-

which amounted to above 37 years, when compared with the preceding dates, has led to the conclusion that the partnership in the throne continued during the reign of the latter sovereign^t. But in order to dispose of the superfluous years, it is still necessary to suppose that a part of the reign of Amense,—who is conceived to have been regent, during the earlier years of Thothmes III^u,—was also taken into the computation. Evidence of such an union of authority has been discovered in various inscriptions; although, I believe, the exact nature of the relationship between the queen and her ward has been greatly mistaken^v. On the subsequent partnership, in the reign of Amenophis II, the monumental evidence is no less explicit and various. On a stele at Leyden, the latter king and his predecessor are represented as seated on thrones, each of them bearing the symbol of life, and the sceptre of moderation^w.

thority was maintained in the upper country under his distinctive title; conf. Leemans, loc. cit. pl. ix. N^o. 102. The name 'Αλισφραγμουθωσις, in Josephus, has plainly arisen from an error in transcription: a divided M having been easily mistaken for ΑΛ, that name superseded Μισφραμουθωσις, or Μισφραουθωσις. The name which thus seems to have originally designated the united rule of the father and son, has been thence appropriated to the latter, in consequence of his place in the succession.

^t Bunsen, Aegypt. Stel. ut supr. 3 B. s. 76. seq. Birch, ut supr. p. 220.

^u Champ. Lett. ut supr. p. 295.

sq. Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i. pt. 1. p. 226. sq. Leemans, ut supr. p. 51. Birch, ut supr. p. 221. n.¹¹.

^v Vid. supr. p. 291. n.^v. comp. Wilkins. Thebes, p. 95. n. In an inscription, cited by Champollion, he is termed “the *beloved* of the child of Pharaoh.” Lett. écr. d’Égypt. pl. vi. fig. 1. p. 146. This description, however suited to Mœris, “the adopted prince,” would have accorded as little with Dr. Rosellini’s notion of his being the *son*, as Dr. Hincks’s notion of his being the *brother* of Amense: which contrary notions, as thus sustained by nearly equal authority, neutralise each other.

^w Leemans, Lett. ut supr. p. 57.

And on the lintel of the gate of a chapel at Amada, the names of Thothmes III. and Amenophis II. are included in the same inscription; and the title of "ruler of the north of Egypt" given to the one, and that of "ruler of the south" to the other^x.

As the three reigns, during which, it thus appears, the sovereignty of Thothmes III. was acknowledged, are chronologically computed at above 60 years^y; the extension of this monarch's rule, from 12 to 41 or 42 years, is easily explained, on the supposition that the former number expresses the duration of his monarchical sway, while the latter includes the years of his partnership in the government. If we suppose that the last expedition, undertaken by him into the East, in his 40th year, occurred in the middle of his son's reign; the first, which was conducted under different auspices, would have occurred in the 5th year of his predecessor Amense, who occupied the throne 16 years, from this time, to which it is supposed her regency extended. And of the 16, which, it appears from the statistical tablet, he conducted in person^z, the 1st would have thus occurred in the 10th year from his accession to the monarchy. Nothing appears on the monuments, that is opposed to this disposition of the three reigns; in which the difference between them and Manetho is reconciled, in the respective computations of the intermediate reign of Thothmes Mœris.

In this view, however, the subject has been considered, in that light which is least favorable to the claims of the present Chronology. For, it appears to

^x Birch, ut supr. p. 220. n. 9.
loc. cit.

^y Vid. supr. p. 180. et Joseph.

^z Birch, ut supr. p. 308. n. 9.

me, that more has been assumed than can be strictly proved, respecting the identity of the first year of the imposition of the tribute with the accession of Thothmes III. to sovereign authority. As the tablet is but a fragment, and defective at the beginning; there is much reason to doubt, whether the numbers, from which the length of that prince's reign has been inferred, express more than the years for which the tribute had been collected. Of these, it would seem, that but 16 out of the 42, had been levied by Thothmes in person^a; and 4 of the former admit of a dispute, from the defective state of the tablet, which contains an account but of the last 12 expeditions of that monarch. Granting, however, that the former number is correct; I cannot concede that the evidence is conclusive for dating the first of the remaining 26, from the year of the monarch's accession. Nothing can be more clear than that, by the entire number of 42, the whole of the annual levies of the tribute are reckoned; the evidence is so far distinct that the term of so many years is computed from the first year's payment. But it is no more than presumptive that this year was coincident with the date of the monarch's accession.

Such a synchronism, however, is not merely unsustained by proof, but seems opposed to probability. It cannot, in this view, be easily explained, how it follows, that of the 42 expeditions, which are supposed to have taken place in this monarch's reign, only the last 16 should have been conducted by himself, while the preceding 26 were committed to some inferior person. The contrary supposition commends itself by its probability; as it seems much more

^a Birch, *ut* *supr.* p. 308. n. 9.

likely that those expeditions, in which the prince engaged, were undertaken by him in the early and active period of life, and consequently on his first admission to a share in the sovereign authority. Under this view, in which it becomes merely necessary to account, for the extension of his reign from 12 years to 16; we need only have recourse to the time, during which he was admitted to a participation in the sovereign power, in the preceding reign of Amense.

On the nature of those expeditions, of which, it certainly appears that 16 were conducted by the prince in person, little doubt can be entertained. It seems not less plain from the declarations of the Egyptians to Germanicus^b, than the tenor of the inscription on the tablet, upon which they are recorded, that they were armed incursions into the countries, which acknowledged subjection to the Egyptian sovereign. Their direct object, as appears from the written and monumental evidence, was to collect, or enforce payment of the annual tribute, imposed on those foreign lands, in which they had neither planted colonies, nor maintained garrisons. Such expeditions would open a field for the exertions of a young and enterprising prince; and would be likely to be committed to him, during the reign of a queen, whose sex and habits would disqualify her for engaging in military operations. A tablet, however, has been found in Arabia, which is dated from the 16th year of Amense, and which, as including the scutcheon of Thothmes III^c, is best explained by the supposition that he was deputed, by

^b Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 60. Petr. pl. viii. Birch, Galler. ut

^c De Laborde Voy. en Arab. sup. p. 79.

that queen, on such expeditions. This conclusion is considerably strengthened by the insertion of her shield, in the very tablet of Karnac^d; which contains a detailed account of the annual tributes, which that prince had been engaged in collecting. If the 24 years, for which they had been levied, previously to his first expedition, be computed in ascent from the preceding date; the time of the first imposition and payment will fall in the year 14 of Amenophis I, the predecessor and brother of Amense. And when the circumstances of Egypt are considered, during the reign of this king and that of his father Amosis; no time can be easily pointed out, at which it seems more probable, this tribute could have been first imposed on the subjected nations. Under the former monarch, Egypt had not sufficiently recovered from the exertions, to which she owed her liberation from a foreign yoke, to be disposed to engage in distant conquests. The monuments, on the other hand, which attest the success of the later sovereign's arms, in Asia and Ethiopia^e, are records of those victories, the usual fruits of which was the imposition of a tribute on the conquered.

Were I to venture a conjecture, where all is uncertainty, I would dare to affirm that the service, on which Thothmes III was employed, was that which had been discharged by his ancestors of the same name, for at least two generations before him. It would appear, from the devices selected for their shields, that they were a warlike race^f; and in those

^d Birch, loc. cit. Rosellin. tom. i. p. 185. tav. 2. a. d. b. c. e.

^e Birch, Galler. p. 74. Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. iii. pt. 1.

^f In the device, by which the shields of the Thothmes race were distinguished, the scarab, or sa-

predatory incursions, to which the mode of warfare was nearly confined in that age, they could alone find a field for the exercise of their military skill or prowess. They might have thus rendered themselves not merely useful but formidable to the reigning sovereigns; who took the most effectual means of securing their attachment, by allying them to their own family in marriage. It thus appears that Amosis gave his daughter Ahmes to Thothmes I^g; and Amenoph I his daughter Amonmeit to Thothmes II^h: Amense having adopted Thothmes III, in the next generationⁱ. While the 16 expeditions, which this prince conducted, afford some confirmation to this hypothesis; the 41 years noticed in the inscription on the colossal statue of his grandfather, Thothmes I^j, may receive from it some illustration. A clue is at least supplied, in it, to the insertion of the shield of Thothmes III in that inscription; the years computed in which, and on the statistical tablet of Karnac, may be consequently reckoned, with more probability, from the middle of the reign

cred beetle, is prominent: comp. Tabl. of Abyd. from N^o. 42 to 46 inclusive: Birch, Galler. ut supr. p. 69. seq. According to Plutarch it was worn by soldiers, as a signet or amulet: de Isid. cap. x. p. 455. It was resumed, at the close of the monarchy, by the last vindicators of their country's freedom, who took the auspicious name of Nectanebo, on which Prof. Rosellini observes,—“ tutto il nome **Ἡγυτῶν** rigorosamente significa dominus vincit.” Mon. Stor. tom. ii. p. 1. p. 220.

comp. Leemans, ut supr. p. 140. 138. It had been adopted, and probably for the same reason, by the 1st and 2nd of the Osartisens, who engaged in an opposition to the Phenician invaders, not more successful than that conducted by the Nectanebos against the Persians: comp. Rosellin. loc. cit. Leemans *ibid.* p. 143.

^g Vid. supr. p. 291. n. ^s.

^h Birch, ut supr. p. 78.

ⁱ Vid. supr. p. 291. n. ^v.

^j Vid. supr. p. 308.

of Amenophis I, than from the commencement of the reign of Thothmes Mœris.

From the preceding disclosures respecting the reign of this celebrated king, who first developed the natural resources of Egypt, and was unquestionably her greatest monarch; it may be concluded that no reliance can be placed on the isolated date of any monument, as affording a test of the length of a reign, where we are unable to determine the precise year from which it is computed. As it is frequently reckoned, from the time of a prince's elevation to a government, or his admission to a partnership in the throne, it must be necessarily antedated to the time of his accession. The length of his reign, in the exclusive sense of the term, must be consequently protracted; and unfortunately, in such a sense alone, it is of any consideration to the chronologist, in disposing the dates and reigns of a monarchical succession. Those essayists, consequently, who proceed on the false assumption, that every monumental date is computed from the precise year of a monarch's accession, could have scarcely hit upon a specific, better qualified to throw the entire system of the Chronology, they would reform, into disorder and confusion.

Nor is this consequence the only evil to be apprehended, from the administration of the remedy, applied by such practitioners. From the gross superstition, of which the Egyptians, above all the nations of antiquity, were the dupes; they were led to confound the commonest distinctions, not merely overlooking the difference of sex^k, but disregarding the

^k The sex of Amense was long a subject of controversy: comp. Champol. Lett. ut supr. xv. p. 297. Wilkins. Thebes, p. 97. and n.

distinctions of personal identity ; being taught to believe that one monarch might have two persons, or two monarchs be the same person. In the practical application of a principle, so revolting to common sense, the Chronology has been inextricably involved ; some of the most remarkable kings being so hopelessly confounded, as to baffle every effort of modern ingenuity to distinguish the one from the other¹.

3. In substantiation of a paradox which must seem incredible to the modern thinker ; one or two instances may be adduced from the closing reigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty, which engages our immediate attention. The multiplication of monuments, in this splendid period of Egyptian art, has furnished examples of a practice, which was obviously not confined to a single dynasty or era. And the subject cannot be regarded as unconnected with our immediate investigation ; as on some such principle, the persons of Rameses II and III have been inextricably confounded ; and the reign of the latter extended, in a manner analogous to that which has been lately observed in the reign of Thothmes III. While Rameses III is assigned but 51 years, by Manetho ; monuments have been discovered, from which it would appear that he had reigned 62^m. But, 66 years having been ascribed, on the same authority, to Rameses IIⁿ ; one of the following consequences seems unavoidable ; either that the former king has been mistaken for the latter, or the length of his reign has been considerably reduced, by the followers

¹ Birch, Galler. p. 91. seq.

ut supr. p. 104. and n. 7.

^m Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i.

ⁿ Vid. supr. p. 180.

pt. 1. p. 265. n. *. Birch, Galler.

of Manetho. Whichever alternative was adopted, it is obvious, the date of every reign in the Dynasty, which should be computed from one thus miscalculated, must be erroneous. Though the error might be repaired by a transposition of the two reigns, or an interchange of the years of the elder with those of the younger monarch; within the compass of the two reigns, the order of the chronology would be notwithstanding disturbed, and the authority on which it was founded considerably impaired; as contradicted by the testimony of the monuments, which is now received as definitive.

I formerly had occasion to remark on the impossibility of determining, in which of those celebrated kings the Sesostris of antiquity could be identified^o. Following up a suggestion of the Egyptians, which the moderns seem to have perverted, from finding it incomprehensible, or deeming it absurd; I then traced, in the prevailing doctrine of transmigration, the source of the conviction with which that credulous nation was impressed, that different bodies might be the receptacle of the same soul, or a king be the incorporation of a deity^p. Our present object is rather the search for examples, than the development of principles. And in no ascertainable instances does the observation appear to be so fully verified, or clearly established by monumental evidence, as in the two monarchs who took the name Rameses, and the title Meiamon.

It is a point, as yet undecided among the learned in Egyptian antiquities, whether the last shields on the Tablet of Abydos, which are numbered 51 and

^o Vid. supr. p. 112. seq.

^p Vid. supr. p. 115. and n. ^o.

52, were intended to designate one or two monarchs^q. And the variety of evidence, which has been collected, on either side, to determine this question, has tended but to involve it in greater doubt and obscurity^r. As a double identity was ascribed to the monarch, who was regarded, as being at the same time, one and a different person; evidence, it may be conceived, might be easily found in support of either opinion. While an object which had two aspects was thus regarded only in one; it necessarily followed that the view which was taken of it must be erroneous or imperfect. By the ambition of the later Rameses, or the obsequiousness of his flatterers, to appropriate what belonged to the earlier; the difference between the two sovereigns has been so effectually obliterated, that it has become impossible, in many instances, to distinguish between them.

The survivor in this unequal competition was indeed desirous of preserving the line between himself and his predecessor sufficiently broad and defined. He accordingly inserted in his escutcheons the title of "approved of the sun," which had not been unknown to his precursors^s, but which as unappropriated by his great predecessor served the purpose of marking the distinction he was chiefly desirous of asserting. The lowest line of the genealogical tablet, erected by him at Abydos, consists but of a repetition of his shields, in which this device is ostentatiously emblazoned^t. Had it been confined exclusively to his escutcheons, it might have served the

^q Birch, *Galler. ut supr.* p. 71.

Osburn, *Egypt. Test.* p. 79.

^r *Id. ibid.* p. 91. 92.

^t Birch, *ibid.* p. 71.

^s Birch, *ib.* p. 91. and n. 4. sq.

purposes of the chronologist; in enabling him to determine the particular monarch, to whom a monument, recording the date of his reign, might be attributed. As the attempt, however, has been detected, in him, or his minions, to trace this device over shields which had been already inscribed and appropriated^u; it may be reasonably presumed that it has been surreptitiously introduced into others, when first engraved and set up, to record his pretensions. Nor has the uncertainty, which was thus introduced into a subject already sufficiently confused, here reached its limit. By the very nature of the device, whether fraudulently or legitimately appropriated, it was liable to be still further involved. It was a received opinion that the person “approved of the sun” had undergone a regeneration^v; and that in the new nature which he assumed

^u Id. *ibid.* p. 91. and n. 11. p. 101. comp. L'Hôte Lett. ut *supr.* p. 114. 119.

^v In consequence of the limits, necessarily prescribed to these notes, a few observations must suffice on this subject, which would require a long dissertation to do it any justice. Of those “periodical regenerations,” in which every person and thing was supposed to be renewed, one of the fullest accounts may be found in Marcus Antoninus; in whose times, as previously, in those of Sesostris, the Great Year made its conversion: comp. *supr.* p. 117. 123. In effecting those renovations, the Sun, as the Demiurge or Regenerator, was regarded as the great agent; from

whom consequently the title of $\text{C}\omega\tau\pi\ \tilde{\eta}\ \rho\eta$ was derived, of which Hermapion has preserved the meaning, *ὃν ἡλίος προέκρινεν*. Vid. Herm. *Pœmand.* cap. 1. § 9. cap. 13. § 13. Rosellin. *Mon. Stor.* tom. i. pl. 1. p. 237. Birch ut *supr.* p. 318. n. 8. Osburn. ut *supr.* *ib.* The monarch, in whose reign the Mundane Restitution took place, was necessarily supposed to be distinguished by this preference; and according to Hermapion's version of $\rho\eta$ $\text{C}\iota\ \omega\eta\zeta\ \Delta\tau\tau$ was termed, *ἡλίου παῖς αἰωνόβιος*; and in the last state of exaltation, $\text{H}\epsilon\tilde{\rho}\ \rho\omicron\varsigma\gamma\pi\epsilon$ *ἀγαθοδαίμων*, as I think this term should be generally, if not always, rendered, and

he was capable of performing offices, in one person, to himself in another. Instances accordingly occur of monuments, on which this double existence is portrayed^w: and there is good ground to conclude that the Tablet of Abydos is one of the number. The great Rameses is there introduced making an offering, in one state, to himself in another: the device, "approved of the sun," being added, to palliate or justify so unnatural a representation.

While all distinction of personal identity was thus subverted, and not only the acts of a king, but the name and titles, by which alone he could be recognised, were liable to be appropriated or transferred^x;

ⲡⲟϥⲣⲉⲑⲟ, ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲡⲣ, "well deserving of Egypt, approved of the Sun:" Vid. Ungarell. Obel. Rom. p. 71. 11. n. 35. conf. Letronne, Rech. p. 181. Champol. l'Egypt. sous les Phar. p. 182. Salmas. de An. Clim. p. 124. seq. In this state, Rameses appears installed, in the last compartment of the bass-reliefs, describing what may be termed his progress at Beit-e-Walli: vid. Birch. Galler. ut supr. p. 101. He then first adds to his shield the title ⲡⲟⲩⲧⲉ ⲡⲟϥⲣ; to which that of ⲥⲱⲧⲡ ⲡⲣ seems to have been subsequently added in a correction; Id. ibid.

^w Champ. Mon. de l'Egypt. tom. i. pl. iv. fig. 3. conf. pl. vi. fig. 4.

^x That the extent, to which this licence was carried, was unbounded, seems to be admitted in the following observation; which is not inconsiderately advanced,

while it comes from the highest authority; "Under the name of Sesostriis are, without doubt, combined the exploits of *the whole XVIIIth Dynasty*, nor will the discovery of the stele of this king, (Rameses III) mentioned by Herodotus, at Berytus, the Nahr-el-Kelb, and the other at Adeloun, on the road between Ephesus and Sardis, or of a monument bearing his name at the old Suez Canal, said to be first cut by this monarch, do more than justify the popular belief, which had fixed the renown upon the most distinguished of the line. The name of Sesostriis, or Sesoosis, if a Grecianised form of an Egyptian expression, may be found in the adjunct, *Sotp-en-re*, assumed by several of the monarchs of this line." Galler. of Antiq. p. 103. It had been previously observed; "the exploits attributed to Sesostriis were probably an amalga-

it cannot be matter of surprise, if his person was thus usurped by another, that the years of his reign should undergo a like interchange or substitution. Had a scutcheon of the earlier king, into which the device of the later had been interpolated, fallen under the observation of the inscriber of a tablet, who might be incompetent to detect the fraud, or perhaps disposed to abet it; it would form a precedent by which, in his zeal or loyalty to his prince, he would be naturally guided. The length of the later king's reign being chronologically decided; we may thus satisfactorily account for its extension, without having recourse to the supposition that it was computed from a year, antecedent to his accession. The unusual length to which it was protracted, renders the antecedent of these suppositions the least liable to exception.

We may, therefore, venture to conclude, generally, that the isolated dates of detached tablets are far from affording so rigid a criterion, as has been fallaciously assumed, for testing the accuracy or detecting the errors, of the received Chronology. As it is impossible to decide, whether the reigns, of which they profess to number the years, do not run their extremes into those which precede and follow them; unless they can be deduced from some known or ascertainable epoch, they must prove utterly useless for any chronological purpose.

II. There are tablets, however, in which this defect is in a great measure remedied, as recording the dates of contemporaneous reigns, or including com-

mation of those of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, or the conti-

nuation of the wars of his predecessors," &c. Ib. p. 101.

putations comprehending two or more reigns in succession. In these, the conterminous boundaries of adjoining reigns are not confounded, or may be distinguished, by the internal evidence: to such, of course, the preceding objection has no application. Of such, however, the number is unfortunately small; and some even of these are of little use to chronologists, as belonging to that early period, when Egypt had not developed her natural resources. From those which have descended to our times, an idea may be formed of what might have been the probable result, had they been more varied and numerous. As far, however, as their evidence extends it is clear and decisive: and affords some criterion, from which a general estimate may be formed of the genuineness of that part of the Chronology, which cannot be submitted to a similar touchstone.

The arts having fallen into comparative neglect, after the splendid period of their encouragement, under the families termed Thothmes and Rameses^y; fewer events occurred which gave employment to the sculptor, in conferring on them perpetuity by the chisel. The number of the monuments having been consequently reduced, in the reigns of the subsequent Dynasties; little assistance can be derived from them in correcting or testing the works of chronologists. The XXIInd and XXVIth furnish a few remarkable exceptions, which claim our immediate attention^z. The examples supplied by the former Dynasty, might have been considered under the preceding division of this Section. I have re-

^y Vid. Canin. ubi supr. p. 263. n. e.

^z Vid. Leemans, Lett. à Salvolin. p. 114. 128. sq.

served them, notwithstanding, for consideration in the present; as they serve, when regarded in connexion with those adduced from the latter Dynasty, to afford that support when combined which they could not render if parted. By the confirmation which the present Chronology derives from the one, the principles on which it was originally constructed are defensible; by that derived by it, from the other, its present disposition is justified.

1. The monumental remains of Dynasty XXII have contributed to supply the deficiency of 6 kings, in the list of Manetho, as transmitted by his compiler. Professor Rosellini having led the way, in recovering 2 of the lost names, the remaining 4 have been happily supplied by the researches of Dr. Leemans. According to his restoration of the Dynasty, it should be disposed as follows^a:

AFRICANUS.		THE MONUMENTS.	
Monarchs.	Reigns.	Monarchs.	Date.
1 Sesonchis	21	Sheshonk I. ...	B. C. 976
2 Osoroth	15	Osorkon I.	955
3 omitted }	25	Sheshonk II.	940
4 omitted }		Osorkon II.	
5 omitted }		Sheshonk III.	
6 Tacelotis	13	Takeloth I.	915
7 omitted }	42	Osorkon III.	902
8 omitted }		Takeloth II.	
9 omitted }		Osorkon IV.	

One or two circumstances, in this restitution, deserve particular attention, as serving to explain, in some measure, the cause of the selection of some names and the rejection of others; and as tending to

^a Leemans, ut supr. p. 114.

establish the extreme probability of the restoration, the different parts of which have been established, by the learned author, on positive evidence^b. The replaced names are such as would be most likely to be suppressed, in the Chronology, and, at the same time, such as might be expected to be recovered from occasional monuments. As identical with those names which have been retained, they were obviously family names, and therefore likely to have belonged to those who were admitted to a share in the government. If persons, invested with authority on the ground of relationship, they were liable to be omitted; as having been merely taken into a partnership in the kingdom, or having exercised a secondary, and perhaps a subordinate function.

From a comparison of the names with each other, it would however appear likely, that they had belonged to three families; the respective heads of which, it is only reasonable to conclude, were those whose names are preserved by Manetho. From the place occupied in the succession, by the restored kings, it would equally seem that their authority, if not shared with their parents, was derived from them; and that for 15 years the sons of Sheshonk I and Osorken I exercised a joint or successive authority. At the expiration of that time, it passed into the hands of a sovereign named Taceloth; the weakness and jealousies of a divided sway having probably given an ambitious aspirant the opportunity of seizing on the kingdom, and retaining it for 13

^b Id. *ibid.* Two names have been supplied from a statue in the British Museum; a third from funeral urns at Leyden, and the fourth from a seal in the Museum of the same city.

years in subjection. After this time, his immediate descendant, of the same name, might have shared the dominion, for some part at least of the remaining 42 years, with the representatives of Osorkon; by whom the family of Sheshonk, who founded the Dynasty, had been previously superseded or succeeded.

If this disposition of the succession be admitted; the omission of the 6 kings, whose names have been suppressed by Manetho, needs no farther explanation. The variable and mixed nature of the government, into which they seem to have been admitted, would unfit them for reception into a succession, which was strictly monarchical; and in which those sovereigns alone would be entitled to take their place, who were selected by Manetho. This explanation being allowed,—and in the defect of evidence on so obscure a subject it cannot be disproved,—the principle on which the Chronology of the Dynasties has been collected and arranged, is freed from the imputation of being imperfectly conceived, or negligently executed. In justification of the omission of so many kings, it would be sufficient to revert to a parallel instance in the XIIth Dynasty; the list of which has been reduced, for a nearly similar cause, in the *Laterculum* of Eratosthenes^c. So little have their names been deemed worthy of preservation, that they have been principally recovered from seals, and funeral urns^d.

The presumption being thus strong, that the sovereign authority, in this Dynasty, was exercised in conjunction; we need not now revert to the prin-

^c Conf. *supr.* p. 285.

^d Conf. *supr.* p. 324. n. ^b.

ciples formerly explained to dispose of the years to which some reigns, in the course of it, have been prolonged in monumental inscriptions. For 29 years have been assigned, on such authority to Osorkon II^e, and 25 to Taceloth^f: although, in Manetho's list, but 15 years are ascribed to the reserved king of the former name, and 13 to the latter^g. These examples, however, are chiefly deserving of remark, on the present occasion, as furnishing an additional proof, that where evidence is produced, of the extension of a reign beyond the just dimensions; it comes attended with evidence no less strong of a partnership in the throne, which has occasioned the common years to be twice computed. In the instance which is before us, if the reigns of the retained monarchs are regarded, as having extended into those of the suppressed; as thus capable, in one instance, of an indefinite increase from 15 to 40 years; and in another of from 13 to 55: more than ample room will be provided, within which the superabundant years may be included. And until it is shown that the just limit of 116 years, which has been prescribed to the Dynasty, is exceeded by successive, as distinct from joint reigns^h; its chronology must stand unaffected by a solid objection.

^e Rosel. Mon. Stor. tom. ii. pt. i. p. 94.

^f Id. *ibid.* p. 96.

^g Conf. *supr.* p. 188.

^h The difference of 4 years, between the separate reigns of this Dynasty and the sum of them, in Africanus; who reckons the former at 116 years, and computes the latter at 120; is supplied by

Geh. Böckh by supposing the numerals ΚΕ', expressing the length of the first three anonymous reigns, put by mistake for ΚΘ': for which the monuments, in ascribing 29 years to Taceloth appear to him to furnish authority. Maneth. *ut supr.* p. 706. In the proportion, specified above, the length of those reigns is ac-

2. From the monuments possessing dates, which comprise a period including several reigns, evidence of a distinct and conclusive nature may be collected. They may be regarded as representing so much of the chronological Succession, as is included within that period. They do not, therefore, seem directly liable to the objection, to which the isolated dates on detached monuments are exposed; as deduced from a year or event, of which we cannot determine the exact time, however obvious it might have been, when they were inscribed and erected. If, however, a difficulty arise in determining the precise years, at which they profess to have commenced or ended; they may be at least received, as defining the length of those reigns which are interjected; and as so far supplying a test by which the accuracy of so much of the Chronology may be determined. For, it can be hardly doubted that in the period, defined by the expressed dates, those years in which a joint au-

cordingly increased, by him, from 25 to 29 years; in which, he supposes a king reigned, who was named Sheshonk II. Could this omission of a reign, so extensive and distinctly defined, be established against Africanus; it would leave his character, for accuracy, of so little worth, that little or no dependence could be placed upon it. The omission of the 6 reigns of anonymous kings by Eusebius, is only to be justified on the supposition that he regarded them as contemporaneous, with those which preceded or followed, and consequently not entitled to a place in the Succession. However widely his

computation of the Dynasty may differ from that which I have adopted, without alteration, from Africanus; his views, with respect to it, as including contemporaneous reigns, seem to have agreed with those which I have taken. So far I may claim, as on my side, the support of both those chronologists; to whom we are indebted for all that we may be said to know on the subject. The years assigned to the recognised monarchs have the authority of the one; the assumption, that the anonymous kings were contemporaneous, has the precedent at least of the other.

thority was exercised, were deducted from the reign of one of the monarchs, joined in the sovereignty: the admission of which, into detached tablets, must necessarily render their testimony doubtful, if not fallacious.

Of the former kind two tablets, erected in the XXVIth Dynasty have been discoveredⁱ, which acquire an enhanced value from the rarity of monuments, erected under the Dynasties, which preceded: for it has been observed that few monumental remains have been discovered, of the XXIIIrd, XXIVth, or XXVth^j, and indeed of the XXVIIth or XXVIIIth^k, or have found a place in the Museums of Europe. Two sepulchral tablets of the XXVIth form a remarkable exception^l; which, though erected by persons in a station, if not private, inferior to the royal, supply a test, by which the accuracy of the chronology of the last reigns may be estimated. They were both erected in the reign of Amasis; the one bearing the date of his 27th and the other of his 35th year, but computing a period which included the reigns of his three predecessors. In the earlier, the year of the current reign is only mentioned, the name of the ruling sovereign being omitted^m. The defect is, however, supplied in the later, in which that of Amasis is introducedⁿ. As the similarity of the names of the persons, to whose memory they were erected, renders it probable that they were of the same family;

ⁱ Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. ii. pt. 1. p. 129. Leemans, Lett. ut supr. p. 126.

^j Leemans, ut supr. p. 115. 121.

^k Id. ibid. p. 135. 137.

^l Id. ibid. p. 126. Rosellin. ut supr. p. 129.

^m Leemans, ut supr. p. 130.

ⁿ Leemans et Rosellin. ut supr. n. 1.

the inconvenience of the omission was probably felt in the period between their respective dates, and was consequently repaired in that which was last erected. The difference is so far deserving of remark, as it serves to prove how little the views of the persons, by whom monuments were raised, extended beyond the passing moment; and consequently, how little calculated they must often prove to remove the difficulties, which they have bequeathed to the moderns for solution.

The earlier of those two monuments is obviously the more valuable. It is fortunately deduced from the first year of the reigning monarch, the relative length of which we are thus enabled to determine. The later, however, furnishes a decisive exemplification of that method of computing the days of the year, in which the epagomenæ were disregarded^o; and it may be necessary to observe that it equally effects this object, whatever be the chronological length ascribed to the intervening reigns, in which the years only were computed, the days being uniformly neglected.

The subject of the earlier inscription, which is copied in full by Dr. Leemans, is thus stated by that learned antiquary^p: "On the 1st of the month Epiphi, of the 1st year of Necho, Psametik, son of Ohouben and Taonh was born; who lived 65 years, 10 months, 2 days, having died on Pharmuthi 28th of this year of the reigning monarch." For the computation of this period, as applied in the annexed table, it may be necessary to premise that as Epiphi is the 11th month of the Egyptian year, there re-

^o Vid. Introd. supr. p. 13.

^p Leemans, ut supr. p. 130.

mained, in the *first* year, 2 months and 5 days of the epagomenæ, unexpired from Psametik's birth-day. And as Pharmuthi is the 8th month of the year; there were of course, in the *last* year, 7 complete months, with the 27 days of that current. On placing between the years of Psametik's birth and death, as thus estimated, the years assigned to the monarch's reigns which intervened^q; and of which, on allowing 6 years to Necho, just 5 yrs. 2 m. 5 d. of the 1st remained unexpired; the computation will stand as follows :

Monarchs.	Y.	M.	D.	Accession.
Under Necho.....	5	2	5	B. C. 611
— Psammis	9	0	0	..... 605
— Apries	25	0	0	..... 596
— Amasis	26	7	27	..... 571
<hr/>				
Psammetik's age ...	65	10	2	..... 545

On taking the day of Psammetik's birth from the 1st current year of Necho, and that of his death from the 27th current of Amasis; it would consequently appear that he was born on Friday, Nov. 19th, B. C. 611, and that he died Tuesday, Sept. 2nd, B. C. 545: as the neomenia of Thoth fell upon Jan. 21st in the former year, and upon Jan. 7th in the latter.

As decyphered by Professor Rosellini; the following is the subject of the later inscription^r. "On Paoni 1st in the 3rd year of Necho, Psammetik was born; who lived 71 years, 4 months, 6 days; and died on Paophi 6th in the 35th year of Amasis." For the just computation of the fractional time, it should be observed, that, Paoni being the 10th

^q Vid. *supr.* p. 194.

^r Rosellin. *ut supr.* p. 149.

Egyptian month, there remained unexpired, in the *first* year, 3 entire months besides the 5 epagomenæ. And as Paophi is the 2nd month; of the last year, 1 month 5 days,—or 6, including the half days of his birth and death,—must have passed, on the day that Psammetik expired. On adding these months and days to the current year of Necho and Amasis, and interposing, as before, the entire years of Psammis and Apries, the length of Psammetik's life may be thus computed :

Monarchs.	Y.	M.	D.	
Under Necho	3	3	5—5	B. C. 609 cur.
—— Psammis...	9	0	0	... access. 605
—— Apries.....	25	0	0	... access. 596
—— Amasis.....	34	1	6	..... 538 cur.
<hr/>				
Psammetik's age ...	71	4	11—5	

The epagomenæ being neglected, as I formerly observed; and the fractional days of Psammetik's birth and death taken into the calculation; the length of Psammetik's life agrees, to a day, with the computation.

On taking the day of his birth and death, as in the preceding example; it consequently appears that he was born on Saturday, Oct. 21st, B. C. 609, and died on Wednesday, Feb. 10th, B. C. 538, the neomenia of Thoth having fallen on Jan. 23rd in the former year, and on Jan. 5th in the latter.

It would be a misapplication of time to extend these remarks, in proof of the confirmation afforded, by these monumental records, to the present Chronology. The testimony borne by them, to the length assigned to the three first of the preceding reigns, and to the fourth as far as it extends, must be ad-

mitted to be clear and conclusive. It should be, likewise, remembered that their length, respectively, was determined on independent and adequate grounds^s: the deficiency of 3 years, necessary to complete the period of 160 assigned to the Dynasty, having been supplied in the 5th reign, which alone admitted of alteration, as not fixed on positive authority^t. The necessity of taking the 7th reign, as computed at 25 years by Eusebius, instead of at 19, according to Africanus, is no less obvious; from the consequences, which must ensue on the adoption of the shorter period, as has been justly objected to the computation of Prof. Rosellini^u. For, on the reduction of the reign of Apries, the accession of Necho must be proportionably lowered, and be consequently postponed, as much as 5 years, to the death of Josiah, in opposition alike to the truth of history, and the calculations of this chronology^v. By no such objection, it will be shewn in a future part of this work, is the just computation of this Dynasty assailable.

3. On another monument, which was copied by Mr. Burton on the Cosseir road^w, I do not lay much stress; although its dates are in strict accordance with the present Chronology: the reigns which it defines not being strictly Egyptian, as the country was under the Persian domination when the tablet was erected. The inscription on it is much defaced, but it clearly assigns 6 years to Cambyses, 36 to Darius, and 12 to Xerxes^x: the entire period of 54

^s Vid. supr. p. 193.

^t Vid. supr. p. 192. seq.

^u Hincks on the Egypt. Stele,
p. 4.

^v Id. *ibid*.

^w Burt. Excerpt. pl. viii.

^x Rosellini, *ut supr.* tom. ii. pt. I.
p. 164.

years, thus defined, and extending from the year B. C. 527 to 473, marking the duration of the Persian rule, from the date of its first establishment to that of the erection of the monument. Although from its very illegible state, the subject of the inscription can only be conjectured with difficulty; it appears to record the occurrence of remarkable events, or the execution of public works, by which the sovereigns whose names it bears sought to reconcile the natives to their government. So much may be collected from what remains of the hieroglyphic text: in which an acknowledgment is made to those sovereigns, "for having established over them Hor-Amon, protector of Egypt." From the character of the youthful god, and the nature of his protection; it would seem that an attempt was made to induce the Egyptians to regard the revolution which their country sustained, as its renovation.

When we except the first date of this monument, by which a remarkable epoch in the Egyptian Chronology is determined^y; the confirmation which it otherwise affords, directly, and indeed mainly, confirms the Astronomical Canon, which has been expressly followed in the distribution of the Dynasty^z. In assigning 6 years to Cambyzes in Egypt; in which it agrees with Manetho, as reported by Africanus^a: it determines the date of the subjection of the country by the Persians, by which the conterminous bounds of the XXVIth and XXVIIth Dynasties, as referred in this Chronology to the year B. C. 527, are consequently decided. In the 36 years which it assigns to Darius I, it strictly accords with the same

^y Vid. *supr.* p. 141. and n. m.

^z Conf. *supr.* p. 194.

^a Ap. Syncel. p. 75.

authorities; and so far furnishes proof that the interval of 54 years, to which it extends, is continuous. The period of 12 years, which it ascribes to Xerxes, was necessarily determined by the time when the monument was erected: the date of which must be consequently placed in the year B. C. 473, according to the *Astronomical Canon*.

The importance of the dates which are thus fixed, beyond reasonable objection, is not confined to the establishment of an epoch, which was deemed paramount in the *Chronology of Egypt*; and was so far respected as such by Herodotus, Diodorus and Eratosthenes as to prescribe a limit to their inquiries into the facts and dates of the native annals^b. It supplies a basis, on which the entire superstructure of the antecedent *Chronology* may be sustained; and a triumphant refutation may be given to the charge of incurable error, which has been brought against the Greek chronologists, by writers who take, as the rule and standard of truth, their own misconceptions of the systems of both nations.

I now venture to conclude that when a just estimate is thus taken of the testimony of the ancient monuments; in no instance, of the slightest moment, can the computations of this *Chronology* be convicted of error upon its authority. Where it records definite dates and intervals, it has uniformly proved to be favorable. And when it has seemed to be adverse; the opposition has been found, on examination, to be but apparent: as deriving its supposed strength from some interval which had been twice calculated, or had been deduced from some arbitrary or ambiguous epoch. However it may be objected

^b Conf. *supr.* p. 174. 167. n. c.

to the line of proof which has been adopted in the first part of the discussion, that it is but apologetic ; it must be allowed of the latter, in which alone certainty could be attained, that, in the course of it, coincidences have been traced which are more than sufficient to redeem the credit of the system.

SECT. IV.

Confirmation of the reduced Chronology, deduced from ancient monuments which record the epochs of cyclical periods.

THE imperfection which has been objected to detached tablets, as recording dates which are ambiguous and unconnected, is necessarily inapplicable to those great cycles, which were deduced from known and remote epochs. As recognised on ancient monuments, those remarkable crises of the early cycles, have been supposed to prove the immense antiquity of Egypt, her arts and sciences.

I. Such evidence, by the establishment of which the pretensions of the extended Chronology would be confirmed, has been sought in the zodiacs, which ornament the cielings of some of the temples. It was justly assumed, by those who had an interest in bringing discredit on the Scripture and its chronology, that could the equinoctial or solstitial points be found placed, on those monuments, in those points of the heavens, which they could have only occupied in the remotest era ; that evidence of the age of the world would be obtained, which would serve their purpose. However the *savans*, attached to the French expedition, have left their competency as scholars and antiquaries problematical ; they have left their zeal and diligence, in the search of such evidence, far from doubtful^a. Nor can it be denied, if we may judge from the proof deduced from

^a Voir Recueil sur les Mon. Astron. par M. Fourier. Descr. de l'Egypte, tom. ii. p. 86.

the symbol of the sphinx, as determining an epoch when the solstitial point was between Virgo and Leo^b, that they had the perspicacity to discover it, where the native Egyptians did not so much as suspect it existed. In the Tentyra zodiac, the great desideratum was at length supposed to be reached; the authority of M. Nouet, who was at the head of the astronomical department, being cited to prove that the place of the equinoctial point was fixed on that monument, and was determined in some posthumous papers of that astronomer^c.

Since the subject has undergone investigation with better means and opportunities of discovery; not only the monument, but the temple of which it formed an ornament, has been proved to be modern. Thus much has been placed beyond doubt by an inscription in Greek^d; which those learned antiquaries overlooked or disregarded. By the discoveries since prosecuted into the meaning of the hieroglyphics inscribed upon the walls, the question has been set at rest: the names of the Cesars, with which the interior and exterior of the building are covered, proving, beyond all doubt, the date of the temple and its monuments, to be as low as the times of the Romans^e. Advancing on this discovery, antiquaries have carried their scepticism to an extent which has been fatal to the pretensions of all similar monuments. After the most diligent inquiry, it appears, that no zodiac has been discovered in any temple which can be regarded as ancient^f.

^b Ibid. Recueil des Obs. tom. i. p. 257.

^c Dupuis, Mem. expl. du Zodiacque, p. 55.

^d Letronne, Recherch. pour

serv. à l'Hist. de l'Egypt. Intr. p. xiv. xxxviii. conf. p. 447.

^e Wilkins. Thebes. p. 403.

^f Id. ibid. n. *. "There is no zodiac in any ancient temple.

As a modern structure, however, may be raised on the foundation of one more old; the architecture and ornaments of the ruined building may be copied in the renovated. From the disposition of its ground-plan, and the epoch marked in its circular zodiac, the temple of Tentyra appears to have been of this description. But, from the determination of this epoch, the Egyptian science or chronology is so far from deriving any proof of a high antiquity; that no earlier date can be assigned to them, on the evidence of this monument, than the commencement of the XXVth Dynasty. By that happy combination of ingenuity and learning which rarely meets in the same person, the date has been ascertained by M. Biot, as well of the zodiac as the temple, from the disposition of the front-wall, as defining the point of the horizon, at which Sirius was observed to rise, at the epoch marked on the monument^g. According to the decision of the able

Dendera, Esneh and Dayr (Aphroditopolis) are of Ptolemaic and Roman date. The celebrated Visconti had made a very accurate estimate of that of Dendera." Had the labor which has been employed in decyphering the hieroglyphics succeeded in establishing but this single fact; it would have achieved an object of inappreciable benefit to the interests, which as acquired by Revelation, immeasurably surpass those derived from Art or Science.

^g Biot, Rech. sur l'Astron. Egypt. p. 109. "La construction du monument sa situation, la direction qu'on lui avait donnée, se trouvaient ainsi industrieusement

appropriées à la deviation du temple, relativement à la ligne méridienne. Mais cette deviation même offre, avec la position astronomique de Syrius à cette époque une relation bien remarquable. Car sous la latitude de $26^{\circ} 8' 36''$. 700 ans avant l'ère chrétienne, le calcul montre que Syrius, affecté de la réfraction avait une amplitude ortive égale à $109^{\circ} 23' 28''$. comptée du point du nord, ce qui placerait le point de son lever à $19^{\circ} 23' 28''$. au sud du point orient véritable, par conséquent exactement, ou presque exactement, dans la direction horizontale, suivant laquelle les parois sud et nord du temple étai-

astronomer to whom we are indebted for these interesting facts; the year 700 or 747 B. C. is the earliest date that can be ascribed to the phenomenon, of which the monument preserves the epoch^h. Whatever may be the inference which is deducible from so low a date, in favor of the contracted Chronology, it serves to prove that the extended can derive no evidence of its antiquity from the Egyptian zodiacs.

Nor does the evidence which has been deduced from the pyramids, although the most ancient monuments of the country, appear to be more favorable to its extravagant pretensions. From the position

ent tournées. On pouvait donc trouver Sirius à son lever, et l'observer à cet instant, en s'alignant sur la direction horizontale de ces parois transversales, comme M. Delambre a supposé que les Egyptiens avaient pu s'aligner sur la direction des bases des pyramides, pour observer les amplitudes ortives, soit occases du soleil au solstices et en conclure la longueur de l'année." Comp. p. 117. Intr. supr. p. 19,

^h Biot, *ibid.* p. 118. "Nous nous bornerons ici à faire remarquer que, si le monument est seulement relatif à une circonstance astronomique ou historique memorable, il en est deux correspondantes à l'époque qu'il designe, et qui auraient bien pu, même long temps après cette époque, sembler dignes d'être ainsi retracées, l'une est la fondation de Rome, 754 ans avant l'ère chrétienne, l'autre l'origine des

années de Nabonassar 747 ans avant cette même ère. Car, pour-quoi l'une ou l'autre de ces époques n'aurait-elle pas pu devenir le sujet d'un tableau astronomique, même au temps des empereurs?" A simple, and, therefore, a more probable solution may be found in the suggestion, hazarded in the text; that the modern temple was rebuilt on the foundation of one more ancient. The date of the latter, I am inclined to believe, was determined, by a purely astrological coincidence; indicated by the position assigned to Isis, directly under the equinoctial and solstitial points of the heavens, which she is represented, on the monument, as upholding: *vid. supr. p. 230, n. h and i.* The compass of a note, would, however, allow no room, to offer an observation, by which the conjecture might be supported.

of the great pyramid, with respect to the points of the compass, and the declivity of the passage which leads into the interior, it was suspected that the polar star had determined the degree of its deviation from the horizontal direction. At the request of Col. Vyse, Sir J. Herschel calculated the place of the star which was polar, at the time, when, according to the reduced Chronology, the pyramids were erectedⁱ. He found that at its inferior culmination it would be visible to an observer stationed, near the sepulchral chamber, at the bottom of the passage, the aperture of which did not appear above 2° in breadth at that distance^j. The period for which the calculation was made having been the year B. C. 2171, or 2123, within which the last 8 years of Mycerinus were comprised, falls within the time when the great pyramids were erected^k. Allowance being made for the uncertainty in which so remote a period of the Egyptian Chronology is involved; and for the slight apparent influence of the precession in the displacement of a star situated so near the pole;

ⁱ Vyse, Oper. in the Pyr. Append. p. 107.

^j According to Sir J. Herschel, who represents α Draconis as having been the polar star, at the date of the computation B. C. 2123. 2171; Ibid. "A latitude of 30° and a polar distance of $2^{\circ}. 51'. 15''$, would bring it at its lower culmination to an altitude of $27^{\circ}. 9'$, and therefore it would have been directly in view of an observer stationed in the descending passage; the opening of which, as seen from a point 63 f.

within, would by calculation subtend an angle of $7^{\circ}. 7'$: and even from the bottom, near the sepulchral chamber, would still appear 2° in breadth. In short, speaking, as in common parlance, the passage may be said to have directly pointed at α Draconis, at its inferior culmination, at which moment its altitude above the horizon of Gizeh (lat. 30°) would have been $27^{\circ}. 9'$: refraction being neglected, as too trifling, (about $2'$) to affect the question."

^k Vid. supr. p. 166. 272.

the calculation may be taken without any licence, as accommodated to the reign of Cheops, which cannot be precisely determined. While it is allowed that occasion might be taken to work on the superstition of the beholders, by the disclosure of the star at such a point, from which it would be visible in broad day-light; it must be admitted that no connexion, as far as I am aware, can be traced, between the direction of the passage, from the repository of the dead, and the remarkable star to which it directly pointed. As far as the Egyptian Chronology admits of confirmation from the fact itself, the origin of which it is of no importance to determine: it clearly decides, in favor of the reduced system, and against the extended. The date which it serves to fix, for the foundation of the first pyramid, as lowered half a century below that assigned to it in the reduced Chronology, confirms the principle from which it derives this name, and decides still more positively against its extension.

II. In addition to the illustration which has been derived from an observation of the celestial motions, regarded in connexion with the ancient monuments; from the artificial scales by which the Egyptians professed to compute remote epochs, the subject before us admits of being still further confirmed. As the nature of the great cycles, by which these calculations were made, has been fully ascertained; and the connexion may be traced between their more remarkable periods and the dates of particular monuments; they supply a criterion, by which conclusions may be attained which are more apposite, if not more conclusive, than the preceding. At the time of their conversion, it was presumed or pre-

tended, the golden, or first happy, age would be restored¹. Advantage was thus taken by the priests or astrologers, by whom they were computed, to bring the fortunate crisis within the reigns of their favorite monarchs. The title of “approved of the Sun,” by whose revolutions these “periodical restorations” were supposed to be produced, enables us to determine the sovereigns, in whose reigns, the Great Mundane Restitution was expected, and who were confounded under the name of Sesostris, as possessing that title^m. The pains which were consequently taken, to perpetuate the memory of so remarkable a crisis, have led to the dedication of monuments, and even to the record of dates, by which the time of those reigns may be determined, and the accuracy of the Chronology by which they are fixed, be consequently verified.

Of this description were the Sphinx, and tablet erected in the chapel before it, the Tablet of Abydos, and the Calendar depicted on the ceiling of the Memnonium. We know the monarchs, of whose piety or achievements, they were intended to be memorials; and can compute the epochs and progress of the Great Year, by which the time of the Mundane Restitution was determined, which they served alike to image and commemorate, as symbols and monuments. We are thus possessed of a scale, by which we are enabled not only to prove the accuracy of the dates assigned to those reigns; but to measure the distance between them and some of the most remarkable epochs of the Chronology: the limits of the system being thus defined, the intervals

¹ Burnet, Theor. of the Earth, vol. ii. p. 19. 42.

^m Conf. supr. p. 320.

into which it is distributed may be determined; and the distribution, through its entire extent, be tested and established.

1. One of the most remarkable of those monuments which claim our attention, is the Sphinx, which has been erected in the vicinity of the pyramids of Ghizeh. Its founder is not precisely known; but from the date of an inscription, upon a tablet in the chapel which is between its forepawsⁿ, it may be probably conjectured that Thothmes III erected it. He is among the few favored monarchs who were distinguished by the title of “approved of the Sun;” in which some change or revolution effected by the Great Cycle, was implied^o; to which the monument, and the inscription on the tablet annexed, bore a manifest allusion. The date of that inscription being the 9th and last year of Thothmes IV; the great improbability that the monument could have been raised by him, or his immediate predecessor, considerably strengthens the foregoing presumption. The reign of the one, we have had occasion to observe, merged in that of Thothmes III^p, while the other, as appears from the monuments recounting his exploits, was too much engaged in military affairs^q, to employ his time, or dissipate his resources, on those public works, for which his grandfather Mœris was distinguished.

On the tablet dated from the remarkable year, in which the shepherds took their departure from

ⁿ R. Soc. of Lit. Col. of Hierogl. pl. 80. comp. vol. i. pt. 1. p. 217. N^o. 24. 25.

^o Comp. supr. p. 319. n. v.

^p Vid. supr. p. 308. sq.

^q Rosel. Mon. Real. tom. ii. p. 207. Champ. Mon. de l’Egypt. tom. ii. pl. clvii. N^o. 3. comp. Osburn, Egypt. Test. p. 44.

Egypt, Thothmes IV is depicted in the act of performing a religious rite; which may be reasonably supposed to bear some allusion to the expedition which he then projected^r. Were the inscription perfect, or fully decyphered, it would probably throw important light, on this most interesting epoch of Egyptian history. It has been, however, most incorrectly copied^s; and unfortunately the last two lines of the original have been designedly obliterated. Whatever might have been their purport, it is but reasonable to conclude, that they contained the common form, which terminates all inscriptions; in which the royal dedicator, in requital for the services which they ostentatiously recount, is promised "life like the sun for ever." As this promise was signally frustrated, by the premature death of the king^t; it is surely not too much to presume, that in this result we obtain some clue to the wilful defacement of the tablet, as recording something obnoxious.

The inscription, as dated from Athyr 19th, in the 9th year of Thothmes IV, according to the present Chronology, coincided with Nov. 18th B. C. 1493^u. The events which occurred in the ensuing year^v, give

^r Vid. *supr.* p. 224. and n. ¹.
conf. *Col. of Hier.* ut *supr.* p. 343.
n. ⁿ.

^s This character has been confirmed, to the author, by judges no less competent than Sig. Salvini and Mr. Birch; when applied to, on the subject of this interesting inscription. He learns, however, from Mr. Bonomi, who accompanied the Prussian Commission to Egypt, under Dr. Lep-

sus; that an accurate copy may be expected, from that learned hierogrammatist; to whom we are indebted for a valuable collection of hieroglyphic inscriptions, from which much benefit has been derived, in the present investigation.

^t Vid. ut *supr.* n. ^r.

^u Conf. *ibid.* et *Chron. Can.* B. C. 1492.

^v Vid. *supr.* p. 224.

to this date an interest and importance, which is unequalled by any other that has been as yet decyphered. In the subject, depicted at the top of the tablet, and which may be said to form its vignette, two altars sustain two sphinxes, over which the winged orb extends its shadow; and before which the figure of Thothmes IV is repeated, in the act of making a libation^w.

Under these emblematical figures, in which the bust of a man is combined with the body of a lion, it admits of little doubt, two great cycles were shadowed, according to the known significance of hieroglyphic language; by one of which the past time was signified, and by the other the future. What appears to establish this exposition, while it tends to confirm the present Chronology, is the extraordinary fact, that, at the distance of the great cycle of 1460 years, computed from the date of this monument B. C. 1493, the remarkable epoch of the accession of Osiris occurred, B. C. 2953^x. And the coincidence is proved, by the day selected for the celebration of the rite, not to have been accidental; as Athyr 19th, which was chosen for the ceremony, was the festival kept as the anniversary of "the Recovery of Osiris^y."

It would lead me far from my present object, which is properly limited to the consideration of dates, to pursue this investigation to an extent which would be necessary for the perfect development of the subject^z. As I shall have occasion to

^w See Col. of Hierogl. ut supr. pl. 80.

^x Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 2953.

^y Plut. de Isid. cap. xxxix. p. 502.

^z A particular inquiry into subjects, which are properly mythological, would be foreign from the purport of a work, which is ex-

return to it again, I shall, for the present, dismiss it with a few observations. In application of the preceding remarks, it may be, therefore, added, that under the emblem of the Sphinx, the Deity was imaged in his attributes of wisdom and power; the one quality being expressed by the human part of the compound, and the other by the animal. In the exercise of these attributes, by which, it was admitted, the Divine Artificer plans and executes his designs; those Great Revolutions in nature, which I have frequently had occasion to mention, were supposed to be effected. As conceived to happen at the conversion of the Great Cycle, that catastrophe in which Osiris was assigned a part was held to be a Deluge^a. According to the prevailing system of Pantheism, in which these dogmas were inculcated, the Divinity was believed to reproduce the world, by a species of procession out of himself, or evolution of his substance, of which the different objects of nature were supposed to be formed. By these fundamentals of the mystic theology, the legend of Osiris was modelled by the mythologists; the leading incidents of which had been derived from primitive tradition. In commemoration of the part which it had assigned to Osiris, the anniversary of the loss

clusively chronological. Were the development of my views respecting them, compatible with the end which I have immediately in view; I should abstain from the attempt, under the conviction that, in the compass of these notes, no justice could be done to a subject, which could derive no illustration from a few de-

tached references. To convey even the faintest notion of it, would require me to enter into an exposition not merely of the Hermetic but the Oriental Theology.

^a Plut. ut supr. p. 460. cap. xxxix. p. 501. 502. conf. ut supr. p. 97. n.^s.

and recovery of the god was celebrated for four days in the month Athyr^b: extending from the 17th to the 20th of the month, of which the 19th, as the day of the recovery, was the principal festival^c. As it cannot be supposed that all consideration of the nature of the monument, and the character of the day, should have been overlooked; more especially as notice is expressly taken of both, in the inscription on the tablet, erected in the adjoining chapel: it seems unnecessary to seek, beyond these considerations, for the cause of the choice of the festival, by the monarch, who is represented on it, as presiding at the ceremony.

It will be sufficient, therefore, to observe in direct application of these remarks; that by the Cycle of 1460 years, commencing B. C. 2953 and ending B. C. 1493^d, the date of two most remarkable epochs in the Egyptian Chronology, are determined; and the times of the reigns consequently decided, in which it was supposed they had occurred; one of which belongs to the mythic and the other to the historical era.

Within the limits thus defined, the entire system may be regarded as strictly confined; the intermediate intervals, between the two epochs, being held so compactly together, that, by the extension or reduction of any one, the succession would be affected. While its submission to the measurement of so exact a scale, serves to demonstrate the exactness of its proportions; the period, for which it is tested, extends from the earliest ages to the most distinguished.

2. On the monuments which contain allusions to

^b Plut. ut supr. n. a.

^c Id. ibid. p. 502.

^d Vid. ut supr. p. 345.

the Canicular Cycle, and of which some appear to have been raised by those monarchs who have been confounded under the name of Sesostris; it might be presumed that chronological characters might be discovered, for determining the precise time of the monarch's reign, under whom they were dedicated, and settling some contested points in the science. On the discovery of a calendar at Thebes, which connected the rising of Sirius, at the opening of the civil year, with the reign of Rameses Meiamon, by which the epoch of the canicular cycle was necessarily determined; I was led to conclude that the great desideratum was attained, by which the precise date of the reign, and the chronology of the Dynasty might be finally settled^e.

Further inquiry has tended, unfortunately, to render the ground insecure, on which the conclusion was founded. There appeared to be little difficulty in determining, by means of his shield, under which of the kings of the Dynasty, the phenomenon had occurred. The discoveries which have since tended to dissipate these reasonable expectations need not be here repeated^f. It was not then suspected, that not only the names and persons of different kings, but their public works were undistinguishably confounded: the buildings commenced by one, being completed and appropriated by another, and every memorial of the founder's share in the work not only effaced, but supplanted by those of the usurper.

When it was, therefore, assumed, that every part of the building, on the wall of which the calendar was preserved, was completed in the reign of the

^e Trans. ut supr. vol. iii. p. 335.

^f Vid. supr. p. 319. conf. p. 112.

king^g, who is now generally recognised as Rameses III; the opinion must be allowed, as is proved, by subsequent inquiry, to have been hazarded on a hasty and superficial examination. Could it be even established beyond a doubt; it would still be far from decided, that the canicular epoch had occurred in the reign of that monarch. However it might be concluded, that the cycle could not have commenced *after* that time; it could not be thence decided, that it had not commenced *before* it. For any thing which it really established, we should be at liberty to conclude that it preceded that reign, by 34 or 35 years, or any indefinite period.

The same argument applies, with still greater force, to the astronomical painting on the cieling of the Memnonium^h, which so far resembles the preceding monument, in its subject, as it contains a calendar of the sothiacal cycle. If respect were due to the inscription on the border, which encloses it as a frame, the design and execution would be referred to the later Rameses. But as it admits of no doubt, that the entire building was erected in the reign of the earlierⁱ; from the purpose, for which the temple, containing this subject, was intended, it might be safely inferred that the crisis had occurred which it was meant to commemorate. In deciding between the doubtful claims of those monarchs, the presumption, where there is the smallest appearance of right, must be in favor of the earlier. In the course of nature, he could not have appropriated any thing which belonged to his successor;

^g Champol. Lett. écr. d'Egypte lviii. lix.

xviii. p. 361. comp. p. 359.

^h Vid. Burton, Excerpt. pl.

ⁱ Wilkins. Thebes, p. 169. Birch,

Galler. ut supr. p. 88.

while the successor unscrupulously adopted every thing which belonged to his predecessor. The later monarch, besides, stands convicted, on the plainest evidence, of having usurped thus unjustly the labors of the elder; and in no instance more palpably, than in the structure known as the Memnonium.

Whatever doubts may be raised, on the share which Rameses II might have had in the erection of the palace of Medinet Abu^j; none can be entertained, that the Memnonium, in which the temple with its painted cieling is included, was the sole work of that monarch. On the contrary, nothing can be more certain, than that his son and successor, Rameses III, embellished the great hypostyle-hall of that building, introducing the ornament of his own escutcheon^k; and that, in many places he caused the name of his father to be erased, or covered with stucco, and his own to be substituted in place of it. No doubt remaining on the subject of the temple; it becomes a question whether the design on its cieling should not be assigned to the monarch by whom it was erected. The name of the son is indeed inserted in the escutcheons not merely of the border which surrounds the painting; but most profusely in the subject which it depicts^l. But even here, we are furnished with no ground for arriving at a certain conclusion. It appears from various monuments, that the shields inserted in inscriptions, were often left blank, in order to be filled up with the name of the sovereign under whom the building in progress was completed^m. We are as-

^j Conf. supr. p. 349. n. g.

^k L'Hôte ut supr. p. 114.

^l Burton, ut supr. p. 349. n. h.

^m Letronne, Rech. ut supr.

Intr. p. xxxv. comp. Champ.

Mon. ut supr. pl. xc. Rosellin.

Mon. Stor. tom. i. pt. I. p. 244. n.

sured that Rameses III would be withheld by no scruple from inserting his own name in one, which was designed to be filled up with that of his father". And the suspicion, that he had taken this course, is more than strengthened by the omission of the date of the king's reign, in which so important an epoch, as the calendar commemorates, had really happened. For the neglect to insert it, in an inscription, filled with the repetition of unmeaning commonplace, no further reason need be assigned, when it is allowed, that it had positively occurred in the reign which preceded. And that this was strictly the truth, will be soon proved, from a remarkable synchronism, in the 5th year of Rameses III; which in proving his 1st year to be correctly dated, as in this Chronology B. C. 1291, brings his entire reign, at least 34 years, subsequently to the epoch of the canicular cycle.

From the impossibility of arriving at any definite conclusion, in a subject inextricably involved in uncertainty, from the confusion of names, persons and places; nothing certain can be pronounced, upon monumental evidence, as to the particular king, in whose reign the canicular epoch positively occurred. If the computations of this Chronology be admitted, it must be referred to the 52nd year of Rameses II; whose reign extended from the year B. C. 1376 to 1310°. And it may be, at least, confidently concluded, that if the date which is thus assigned to it,

ⁿ L'Hôte ut supr. p. 114.
 " Rhamses le Grande en succédant à son père fit reprendre la décoration, déjà fort avancée de la salle hypostyle, et pour accroître la gloire que lui reviendrait de

ces travaux, il fit en maints endroits gratter ou couvrir de stuc le nom de son père et graver le sien à la place."

^o Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 1376. comp. supr. p. 122.

cannot be proved from the Calendars which recorded that epoch at Thebes, it is not to be disproved on their separate or united authority. Where the evidence discloses nothing that is certain; it cannot be surprising that uncertainty should mark the conclusion.

3. From the claims preferred by Rameses III, on the cieling of the Memnonium; or recognised in the border with which it is surrounded; it would certainly appear that at least some innovation had been attempted in the great cycle, which, if not instituted by Rameses II, had, in the course of his reign, made its conversion. Some such supposition seems necessary to justify the language in which the former of these celebrated kings is addressed in the inscription. And perhaps the fairest way of reconciling their conflicting claims, lies in the adoption of a middle course, in which the earlier is recognised as the institutor, and the later as the reformer of the Calendar.

Some intimation of this kind appears to be conveyed in the following passage, addressed by the gods to Rameses, which apparently furnish a clue to the perplexities of the subject: "We ourselves, sovereigns, like the sun on the solar mountains grant thee to shine like Isis' Sirius, in the height of heaven in the fourth star-day of the glorious year; prolonging to thee years of the solemn Assemblies of the Nile's waters^p." The circumstances which accom-

^p Inscr. ap. Burton ut supr. p. 349. n.^h. Mr. Birch, who concurs with me, in thinking, that this passage can have no allusion to the 4th of the epagomenæ, has suggested that the symbol which

I have rendered "the glorious year," strictly means "the point of the year." On such subjects, I feel much hesitation in departing from such high authority; which, in the present instance, is

panied the rising of the dog-star, which was attended with the increase of the river^a and celebrated by solemn assemblies of the people, clearly indicate the season; which is still more distinctly marked by reference to the fourth, or "glorious year," which completed the small canicular cycle, when "the star" returning to its morning rising, gave renovated brilliancy to the opening year.

As we are perfectly acquainted with the phenomenon, and the hieroglyphics used to describe it are definite and known; we cannot mistake the sense of the original. From the excess of 6 hours, as I have frequently intimated^r, in the unequated year of 365 days; it followed that a quarter of a day intervened between every annual rising of the star at morning. If in the present year, for example, it rose at 6, at that early time of day; it would rise successively at 12 at noon, at 6 in the evening, and at 12 at night, on the same day, in the three following years; until in the fourth year, on the completion of the cycle, it would return to its original rising, about 6 in the morning. Such in fact is the account given of the cycle, and the celestial appearance on which it depended, by an ancient Egyptian. "Since they say, from the morning rising of Sothis to another morning rising there is the fourth of a

more in my favor, as indicating the precise conjuncture when the new year commenced, as the old terminated. I conceive, however, that I am supported, in my rendering of the passage, by the analogy of the language. By the addition of horns, which, in the imagery of the East, were expres-

sive of splendor, or glory, the Egyptians were accustomed to express the same idea: such an appendage to the figurative, expressing "path," consequently signified "path of glory:" vid. Champol. Dict. p. 117. 121.

^a Vid. supr. p. 103. 104. et n. d.

^r Vid. supr. p. 4. 119.

day, so that the year of the god consists of 365 days ; wherefore in the tetraeteris [quadriennial cycle] the Egyptians number a day, for four quarters make a day^s."

From this explanation, the subject of the painting, and the terms in which Rameses III is addressed in the inscription, are easily understood. As no higher compliment could be paid to the monarch than that he should "shine like the star of Isis, in the heavens;" none more appropriate could be chosen, if we suppose him to have reformed the canicular cycle, by adapting it to the sidereal instead of the solar motions or appearances. For as he thus not only instituted a new cycle, but one which had its origin from him, in like manner as the Great Year took its beginning from the appearance of the glorious star, to which he was assimilated: in the inscription the closeness of the resemblance rendered the compliment as just, as the comparison was accurate. Under this view of the subject, every thing is clear and consistent, and not less happily conceived than justly expressed^t.

Nothing can be, on the contrary, more unlucky than the attempt to explain it; from the fourth day of the epagomenæ^u, instead of the star-day of the

^s Horapol. lib. i. cap. 3.

^t It has been supposed that Rameses III might have thus acquired the name of Sethos, from Sothis the name of the star: vid. Böckh, ut supr. p. 691. In the various appellatives of this monarch, recognised in the hieroglyphics, nothing appears that at all justifies the supposition: see Birch, Galler. p. 103. The name

Sethei, which was assumed by his father, had a very different origin, as derived from the god Seth: id. ibid. p. 88. comp. n. 2.

^u On this supposition, the Memoir of Bp. Tomlinson, on the cieling of the Memnium, is founded. Trans. of R. Soc. of Lit. vol. iii. p. 485. From the passage cited above, he deduces "this important fact, that at the

fourth year of the small canicular cycle. While the incident thus preserved by the art of the painter, is preposterously conveyed in a simile, it commemorates at Thebes what was observed at a place some hundred miles distant: although in the city where it was thus perpetuated, it is assumed to have occurred on the proper day of the year, while that by which it is unaccountably superseded, anticipated by two days the proper neomenia. The monarch whom it was intended to exalt, by a comparison of his glory to that of the star, is thus complimented rather equivocally by likening him to its appearance, when it rose out of place and season. While to convey this praise, and describe the phenomenon, the meaning of the inscription, as I have observed, is obviously misrepresented. And to crown the whole, no such appearance could have taken place, in the entire course of his reign, or for more than a century afterwards. At the time of his accession,

period commemorated on the ceiling of the Memnonium, the heliacal rising of Sirius, or Sothis, took place on the 4th of the epagomenæ." *Ib.* p. 493. Supposing the observation of the morning appearance of the star was made upon that day for the mean parallel of latitude, between Syene and Alexandria; he infers that "it would be two days earlier for the latitude of Thebes:" thence concluding "that the monument was intended to commemorate the commencement of the great period of 1461 years called canicular, from its having commenced at the heliacal rising of the dog-star," *Ibid.* All this might be

perfectly intelligible, if the temple at Thebes and the place of observation were only supposed to change places. But that the star should be allowed to have made its appearance at Thebes, at the right time; and a wrong date be there affixed to it, which corresponded as little with the latitude of the temple as with the neomenia of the new year, far exceeds my comprehension or credulity. These incongruities, however, are avoided, on understanding the passage in its obvious and natural sense; as meant of the appearance of the star, at the end of the fourth, or intercalary year: *comp. supr. p. 120.*

there was a distance of 10 or 12 days between the rising of Sothis and the 4th of the epagomenæ: the former having occurred on the 18th or 20th and the latter on the 8th of July. And this distance between the two days continued to increase, at the rate of 1 day in 4 years, until by the retrocession of the neomenia, the cycle had completed an entire revolution.

In thus inferring, from the authority of the painting on the cieling of the Rameseion, that a new cycle was instituted by Sethosis; which was strictly sidereal, as opposed to the solar cycle, which had commenced under his father Rameses II; it must be acknowledged, that, as having a common beginning with the civil year, its neomenia must have fallen on the 10th of July. And from various indirect but concurrent evidence it may be concluded, that a year marked by such a coincidence was taken as the epoch of a new cycle, which, if adapted to the sidereal, as distinguished from the tropical year^v,

^v I have elsewhere offered some reasons for concluding that the difference between the tropical and sidereal year could not have escaped the notice of the Egyptians, in the protracted period of their observations: vid. *supr.* p. 19. Such a difference was virtually recognised, in the distinction made by them between the heliacal and sothiacal year. On this difference it is fair to infer, the reformation of the Calendar by Rameses III would be in some measure founded; although it probably consisted in little more than the adoption of a new epoch from a new neomenia. That taken

by Rameses II was apparently determined, by the phenomena which occurred B. C. 1325 on the vulgar neomenia, of which I have given some account, *supr.* p. 103. In the times of Rameses III, the error in the theory of the canicular year, as accommodated to the neomenia of the heliacal or tropical year, might have been discovered. And though it cannot be presumed that the error was corrected, in the accommodation of the cycle to sidereal time; it seems not too much to assume that the difference between the observed time and place of the star's appearance

would have its conversion, at the rising of Sirius upon the neomenia of the original cycle. A provision would be thus made, that, concurrent with that remarkable appearance, of this glorious star, the old and the new cycle should recommence their career, upon the same day. To determine this crisis, when every derangement in the course of nature, as well moral as physical, would be rectified, was the main object proposed in the theory of the Great Cycle ^w.

The influence which this theory,—as founded on the phenomena, delineated on the cieling of the Rameseion,—exercised on the actions and ambition of Rameses, is obvious from other monuments which he erected. No small proof of this assertion may be deduced from the obelisk which he raised at Heliopolis, and the tablet which he set up at Abydos; on which I have offered elsewhere some remarks, that illustrate the present subject. With reference to the change which was supposed to be effected in the conversion of the Great Year, he is celebrated on the one as the Regenerator of the world^x; and is

above the horizon, and the fixed time and place, was perceived, and a new epoch accordingly adopted. Had the observation been made along the front wall of a very ancient temple, the date of the foundation of which was known; that difference could not have failed to be observed, and some conjecture formed of its rate, from the sun's daily point of rising, which suggested the graduation of the circle.

^w Vid. *supr.* p. 21. 22.

^x In the translation of the in-

scription on the Heliopolitan obelisk, by Hermapion; Rameses, who is distinguished as *ὁν ἥλιος προέκρινε*, is represented as *κτίστης τῆς οἰκουμένης, ὁ ἀγλοποίησας Ἡλίου πόλιν, καὶ κτίσας τὴν λοιπὴν οἰκουμένην*. *ap.* Amm. Marcel. lib. xvii. cap. 3. p. 130. *conf.* *supr.* p. 319. n. 1. In the work, referred to above, p. 278. n. w. I have undertaken to show, that obelisks, used as heliotropes in computing the revolution of the Great Year, were set up on the commencement of a new era.

represented on the other as having passed from one state of existence into another^y. To the same favorite subject the plainest allusion is made in the sculptures on the walls of his palace at Medinet Abu; in which the principal action of his life, in connexion with the same subject, is ostentatiously depicted^z. By a single trait of resemblance the connexion of the subject of these bass-reliefs with that of the cieling of the Rameseion is clearly established. They alike contained a calendar, in which the rising of Sirius on the first day of the Great Year is not merely recorded, but the order of the festivals, which were to be observed in the course of it, is prescribed or depicted.

The same inferences are even more fully confirmed by the remarkable date, of an event, the description of which is preserved on the walls of the Memnonium, and at Ipsambul; and which determines the epoch from whence Rameses derived the ambitious title of Regenerator of the world, in consequence of having reduced it, by a decisive victory, under his sovereign dominion. For in strict consistency with the theory of the great year, a revolution in nature, as well moral as physical, would be effected by its conversion; and a change be thus introduced which would be distinguished no less by the triumphs of the good and great, than the punishment of the rebellious and vicious.

This date is rendered still more remarkable, from its coincidence with the anniversary of a great festi-

^y Vid. *supr.* p. 319. n.^v.

^z In the extracts from the tablets on those walls, of which Mr. Osburn has given translations;

he is celebrated as a lawgiver, and a saviour; the good god, or Agathodæmon: *Egypt. Test.* p. 80. 84.

val, which was celebrated for ages in the countries subdued by his arms; and which is proved, by its name as well as nature, to have been of Egyptian origin. It is noticed particularly, on the present occasion, as the criterion which it supplies, for proving the accuracy of the present Chronology, has the force of demonstration.

The date of the triumph of Rameses, as recorded on the monuments already noticed, is the 5th year of his reign and 5th of the month Epiphi^a. According to the Egyptian mode of computing the reigns of the native sovereigns, they took their beginning from that of the current year in civil use; as distinctly appears from the dates of the reigns in the Astronomical Canon^b. Thus had Rameses succeeded to the throne, in the last month of the year, his accession would be notwithstanding dated from the commencement of the first; when, as at the beginning of his reign, Thoth 1st coincided with July 12th. Thus the commencement of his first year B.C. 1291, being thrown back to July 11th B.C. 1292; his fifth year would have necessarily intervened between July 10th B.C. 1288 and 1287: having Epiphi 5th of that year falling on May 12th B.C. 1287, as the neomenia, or Thoth 1st, fell on July 10th B.C. 1288: the epagomenæ of both which years consequently began with the 7th and ended upon the 9th of July.

The first circumstance deserving of remark, with respect to the date thus determined, is its coincidence with the 16th of the month Löus, in the fixed

^a Champol. Lett. xii. p. 217.

^b Des-Vignol. ut supr. p. 179. n. i.

year of the Asiatics, known as the Macedonian^c. This day was observed as the anniversary of the restoration of the primeval or golden age, for 5 days, corresponding with the Egyptian epagomenæ; the last of which, occurring on July 9th, was kept as the principal festival^d. In the saturnalia, with which it was celebrated, consistently with the notion of its original, as deduced from the reign of Saturn; it is generally allowed, by the learned, that Babylon was surprised and taken by Cyrus^e. What renders the coincidence even more striking is the extraordinary fact, that the country of which that city was the capital is included, by name, among those which submitted to Rameses, in the Asiatic expedition^f, which was crowned by this signal victory. After the Asiatic expedition of his successor Sesach, who would not be likely to neglect profiting by a conjuncture of which Cyrus, even at a later period, observed the advantage, it appears to have acquired the name of Sesachian, contracted into Sachean: that monarch having doubtless revived an observance which through length of time had fallen into neglect, or having extended the licence which it

^c Beros. ap. Athen. Deipn. lib. xiv. p. 639.

^d Vid. ut sup. Warburt. Lect. p. 376.

^e Scalig. Fragm. Beros. p. 18. Seld. de Dîs Syr. s. I. cap. xiii. p. 347. Voss. de Idol. lib. ii. cap. 23.

^f Vid. Birch, Stat. Tabl. of Karn. p. 333. sq. on the geography of the Asiatic countries which submitted to the Egyptian con-

querors. The hypothesis of Mr. Osburn, by whom the conquests of Rameses II are confined to Canaan, is plainly irreconcilable with the testimony of the ancients: Diod. lib. i. p. 34. al. 49. sq. Tacit. Annal. lib. ii. cap. 69. comp. Champol. Lett. p. 426. Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. iii. pl. 1. p. 439. sq. Salvolin. Camp. de Rames. p. 118. L'Hôte Lett. p. 439. sq.

allowed, with further immunities^g. Having been still annually kept on July 9th, as at the fall of Babylon, it appears the day of its first institution, as might be naturally concluded, was never altered.

That its observance had long preceded the expedition of Sesach, may be collected not merely from the preceding coincidences, in which the author of a religious observance, unquestionably Egyptian in its origin, is identified in the date of it, as thus independently and remotely attested. A closer examination of the tablet of Abydos, enables us to connect it with the very epoch of the Egyptian monarchy; from whence we may conclude, upon the authority of the monument, it was positively deduced by Rameses.

This tablet, as considered in the course of this discussion, has been principally regarded as a genealogical table, in which the royal line is deduced from Menes, the founder of the monarchy, to Rameses^h, the reformer of the canicular cycle. The allusion which is made upon it to the change effected by the conversion of that cycle is so obviousⁱ, that when it is regarded independently of that change, it is absolutely unintelligible. Its direct or principal object, as far as Rameses is personally noticed upon it, is to represent him in the act of making an offering to himself, no less than his ancestors. This representation, which violates every idea that we can form of the course of nature, has accordingly given rise to

^g Selden, ut supr. p. 346. has very clearly proved, from the antiquity ascribed to this festival, by Berossus and Ctesias, that it must have been observed in the

East, long previously to the times of Shishak and Cyrus.

^h Vid. supr. p. 238. sq.

ⁱ Vid. supr. p. 319. n. ⁱ.

much useless controversy among the learned. But on assuming the truth of the theory of the Great Year, to which Rameses is described as a convert, every difficulty, respecting its object, directly vanishes. The change in nature, which the conversion of that cycle was supposed to effect, having once taken place; Rameses, who then passed from one state of existence into another, was, with all due consistency, consequently depicted as making an offering, in his natural condition, to himself in his regenerate. But as his genealogy is likewise deduced from the earliest epoch of the monarchy under Menes; that of the cycle, by which the revolution was effected in nature, is necessarily implied in the same subject. This assumption will not be resisted by those who have learned, that at this epoch as fixed in the year B. C. 2673, the rising of Sirius, appears, by calculation, to have fallen on July 10th^k. And what renders this coincidence still more remarkable is the fact, that Menes, at the one epoch, like Rameses, at the other, was supposed to have passed, from one state of existence into another, in a like revolution of nature.

It cannot be necessary to trace these coincidences farther, which were such as the general adoption of the secret year of the Egyptians, was calculated to multiply^l; a year which was identical with the Julian, subsequently borrowed from them by Cesar, and thence admitted into common usage. From the

^k Trans. ut supr. p. 296.

^l That a year of this description had been known to the priests and was observed by them in the equation of the vague year, ap-

pears from the nature of their great cycle, and is acknowledged by the common consent of chronologists: vid. Trans. ut supr. p. 9. n. 30. conf. supr. p. 120.

induction of particulars, already made, I cannot but think the following inferences will be allowed to succeed in the order of necessary consequence. That in the reign of Rameses III, the motions of Sirius had been observed with sufficient accuracy by the Egyptian astronomers, to enable them to detect a considerable error in the theory of the canicular cycle. From the continued observation of the place of its rising, with reference to a point on the horizon, determined by the direction of the eye along the walls of their temples; they discovered that it returned to that point much earlier than the neomenia of the Great Year. And on the commencement of a new era, under Rameses; consequently assigned it a new epoch, coincident with the year.

Thus would Rameses have been supplied with sufficient information, if not to reform the calendar, by rendering it more conformable than previously to sidereal time; yet to take, as the epoch of the new cycle, the year of his reign, in which the neomenia, fell upon July 10th; on which day Sirius had risen, at the epoch of the monarchy. Having the object in view, which he has avowed on his monuments, of establishing his claims to the title of "Regenerator of the world;" he would naturally select this year, for entering on the expedition which was to carry his design into execution. His choice of it would be necessarily determined, if not by his faith in the prevailing superstition; by the influence which it would exert upon his army; whose success would depend, in no small degree, on the confidence of victory which they derived from superstition.

The fifth of the reign of Sethosis, as thus fixed to 1287 B. C., and having not only the year but the

first day determined, by coincidences in time and circumstance, which cannot belong to any other time, may be, (I will now presume,) regarded as demonstrated. And as, computed from it, his first year coincides with 1291 B. C.; the date of it, as determined in the present chronology^m, may be regarded as no less demonstrably established.

The coincidences on which the preceding induction is founded, it may be now observed, are not drawn from a few instances, partially chosen, or resting on forced or casual resemblances. They may be said to run through the entire chronological system of this primitive nation, and to be strictly though remotely connected by its ancient cycles. This connexion has been clearly traced, from Osiris to Thothmes, and from Menes to the great Rameses. The respective dates which have been thus determined, have been proved by a scale, which was not without scientific pretensions; and which though rude was certain, as founded on a patient observation of the order and revolutions of nature. If the view which I have given of the system, which was thus constituted, and has been rigidly tested, be founded in truth; there is nothing in the coincidences, which have been so far traced, which may not be deduced from its consistency. If, on the contrary, it be supposed to rest upon error; an order and proportion has been discovered, where confusion alone was to be expected, of which it far exceeds my powers to divine the source, or give the solution.

4. It may be necessary, in drawing the present part of this discussion towards an end, to offer a

^m Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 1291.

few observations on the date, B. C. 350, which marks the close of the Egyptian Chronology. The great cycle on which it is founded, and to which its principal epochs are accommodated, would naturally lead us to conclude, that the last year, which formed the basis of the entire system, was not accidentally chosen. Had its constructors been possessed of absolute power over their materials, they would have assigned to the national annals and the great cycle, according to which they were digested, a common termination: but this plan was necessarily defeated by the unexpected destruction of the monarchyⁿ. As they were thus prevented from closing their chronology with the Great Year, they had no resource but to assign it a common end with one of the three seasons, consisting of 487 civil years^o, into which it was divided. That great cycle having its epoch in 1325 B. C. consequently ended its second season 350 B. C. to which year Nectanebo, the last of their monarchs, maintained an unavailing contest with the Persians^p. According to the order of the Egyptian Calendar, when the second or Housing Season ended, the third or Water Season commenced. But strong presumptive ground has been deduced, from an examination of the internal evidence^q, that when it was originally constructed, the latter season was assigned the first place in the

ⁿ Vid. *supr.* p. 197.

^o The canicular cycle having consisted of 1461 civil, or 1460 secret years; when divided after the analogy of the natural year, which the Egyptians divided into three seasons, was necessarily distributed into three periods of

487 years, conformably to the disposition of the Calendar. *Conf. Censorin. cap. xix. p. 116. et Lindenb. n. in loc.*

^p Vid. *supr.* p. 196.

^q V. Biot *Recher. sur l'année vague des Egypt. p. 61.*

year ; at which time it appears, from an investigation of its elements, that the 1st day of its 1st month, Pachon, coincided with July 13th^r. On regarding, consequently, the principles on which the old calendar was constructed, the theory of the chronology was sufficiently observed in bringing it to a close B. C. 350, with the second, which was then the last, season. On considering the principles of the new, it would have been more fully carried out, by prolonging it to A. D. 136 ; when the Great Year ended with the third, which was necessarily the last, season^s. In the one, the commencement of the system was chiefly regarded, from whence its entire order proceeded ; in the other, its close was contemplated, which in reality it never reached, however confidently predicted.

If it may be now assumed that the dates, assigned to the accession of Osiris and Menes, and to the fall of Nectanebo, have been justly determined, according to the theory of the Egyptian Chronology ; it may be thence safely concluded that the limits of the entire system, as fixed from the Ancient Chronicle, have been accurately determined. Nor can it be reasonably denied, if the intervals between those epochs and the reigns of the celebrated monarchs, Thothmes III and Rameses II and III, on the principles of that theory, are rightly computed ; that it could not admit of a juster distribution : more especially if the standard of rectitude be supposed to lie between the claims of the reduced system and the pretensions of one which is immensely, or even moderately extended.

^r Trans. ut supr. p. 296.

^s Vid. supr. p. 105. 122. seq.

That the Egyptians were accustomed to such a mode of computing the distant epochs of their Chronology, as that to which it has been lately submitted, clearly appears from the fable of the Phenix and its returns, under which their Great Cycle and its revolutions were undoubtedly shadowed^t. These periods they adopted as a standard of measurement; which differed not, in its divisions or dimensions, from that which I have used; as consisting alike of a period of 1460 years, distributed into smaller intervals of about 500, analogous to seasons^u. That this cyclical scale, by which they fixed or determined their remote epochs, was as ancient as the times of Sesostris, in whose reign it made its conversion^v, distinctly appears from the obelisk raised by that monarch at Heliopolis^w. And the inscription, engraved on it, as clearly indicates the antiquity of the secret apparatus, by which, though veiled under the fable of that bird, it appears they computed those epochs: as it records the repairs of the temple of the Phenix, by the same monarch,

^t Vid. *supr.* p. 7. 22. Under the fable of the Phenix, the renovation of the world, after undergoing the purgation of fire in a great Conflagration, was obviously shadowed: *conf.* Herod. *loc. cit.* Tacit. *Annal. lib. vi. cap. 28.*

^u Tacit. *ibid.* "De numero annorum [phœnicis] varia traduntur: maxime vulgatum quingentorum spatium: sunt qui adseverent, 1461 in terris," *Conf. supr.* p. 4. 120. The lesser division was obviously suggested by

the distribution of the Great Year into its seasons; the exact length of which was 487 years, but computed at 500 in round numbers.

^v Tacit. *loc. cit.* "Paullo Fabio et L. Vitellio Coss. post longum sæculorum ambitum, avis Phœnix in Ægyptum venit, præbuitque materiem doctissimis indigenarum et Græcorum, multa super eo miraculo disserendi:" *conf. infr.* p. 368. n. 2.

^w Hermap. *ap. Ammian. Marcell. lib. xvii. cap. 4.*

which must have suffered the effects of time, to need reparation^x. Nor is it less obvious, that those computations connected times as distant as those of Osiris and Rameses; the identity traced between whom^y finds a direct explanation, in the supposition that the cycle which restored all things to their pristine state, in completing its revolution between their times, had effected the Great Restitution. In the adaptation of the same principles to the times of the Ptolemies, and even of the Cesars^z, it

^x Hermap. ap. Ammian. Mar-
cel. lib. xvii. cap. 4.

^y Vid. sup. p. 115. et n. o.

^z Tacit. ubi supr. "Prioresque alites Sesostride primum, post Amaside dominantibus, dein Ptolemæo qui ex Macedonibus tertius regnavit, in civitatem cui Heliopolis nomen advolavisse." On the authority of the astronomer, whom Augustus employed in placing the obelisk of Sesostris, or Rameses, in the Circus Maximus, Pliny observes: Nat. Hist. lib. x. cap. 2. "Cum hujus alitis vita Magni conversionem Anni fieri prodidit idem Mamilius." As the period of the fabulous return of the phoenix is thus determined by the length of "the Great Year;" its epoch may be established from the conversion of the cycle under Rameses II B. C. 1325. According to Solinus, following Pliny, "the lesser interval amounted to 540 years;" which had twice occurred, between that monarch and Ptolemy Euergetes: Polyhist. cap. 23. Tacit. loc. cit. If from that epoch

we deduct $540 \times 2 = 1080$; it leaves a remainder of 245, expressing the year B. C. in which it was supposed the phenix had made its appearance under the latter monarch. In the very next year, the restoration of the Egyptian rites and religion, by Ptolemy, from whence he acquired the name of Euergetes, is placed by Ussher. Annal. ad A. J. P. 4460. p. 493. conf. Plin. et Solin. loc. cit. The Egyptians, who hailed, in this happy year, the commencement of the Great Restitution, have thus indirectly, but decisively, confirmed the computations of this Chronology. For Amasis, it would, however, appear, we should understand Anysis; the name of the less distinguished monarch, having been easily superseded, by that of the more celebrated. The period of 540 years, assigned for 500 or 487, to the return of the fabulous bird, was doubtless an accommodation of the priests in adulation of their "Benefactor;" who had commenced a new era, on effect-

appears that the future time as well as the past was included in the theory on which the Chronology was constructed, and from which its main epochs may be determined.

ing this revolution in the national religion. It must be, however, conceded that, by their computations, the XXth Dynasty is not only excluded from the direct line of the monarchical succession; but the extremes of the period of 1080 years,—which they computed between the conversion of the Great Year under Sesostris

and the close of one of its divisions into seasons under Ptolemy III:—are fixed in the strictest accordance with the distribution of this Chronology. The period of 300, or 365 years, assigned to the return of the phenix, can be as little reconciled, with the division of the great cycle, as with the testimony of the ancients.

PART IV.

THE EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY ESTABLISHED FROM ITS CONFORMITY TO THE HEBREW COMPUTATION.

SECT. I.

*Conformity traced between the Sacred and the Egyptian
Chronology, in the Antediluvian era.*

THE tests by which the Egyptian Chronology has been hitherto tried may be deemed arbitrary and artificial; however derived from the fixed epochs of cycles which were deduced from actual observation. It may be, therefore, perhaps objected, that however calculated to establish its internal consistency, as a system, they fall far short of demonstrating its positive accuracy. A still higher and unerring criterion of its pretensions is discoverable in the Sacred Records, by which it remains to be tested. When regarded merely as historical documents these writings possess claims to respect which distinguish no other compositions; not merely as professedly founded on fact, but as suggesting internally a test of truth, in the correspondent dates, which though indirectly disclosed, are determined with great precision. The chronological system, which has been thence deduced, is not less capable of having its accuracy tried, by a similar test to that

which has been applied to the Egyptian; the leading incidents in the scripture history being not less appreciable by the sabbatical cycle, than the chronological scheme of "the Ancient Chronicle" by the canicular^a.

It may be therefore premised, that no test more rigid can be suggested, for trying the accuracy of the Egyptian Chronology, than that which is supplied by the Biblical. As the dates in each are determined on principles which are not merely independent of each other, but in some measure peculiar to themselves; the incidents of which they mark the time, and of which there appears on inquiry to be a great variety, may become fit subjects for a comparison. It is almost superfluous to add, that, if on being subjected to this criterion, their separate testimony is found to coincide; or what is in substance, the same, they agree in bearing a common testimony to the times at which the same facts occurred; the accuracy of the more doubtful witness may be received as confirmed by the voice of the undoubted.

Previously, however, to entering on this comparison, it may be necessary to remove a prepossession that may arise *in limine* to the preceding assumption; from the irreconcilable discrepancy between the sacred and profane computation, in determining the epoch of the world. An event which is placed but 4000 years before the christian era, in the Hebrew, being thrown back to nearly 36,500 in the Egyptian^b. In these immensely remote epochs, assigned by the ancient computers to the universe,

^a Trans. ut supr. vol. iii. p. 21. seq.

^b Conf. supr. p. 131.

particularly when supported by theories founded on delineations of the zodiac, sceptics have been induced to reject the moderate estimates of the sacred writers, as undeserving of any attention.

It would convey a sufficient answer to this objection, to observe, that as 33,000 years of this immense period, included in the Egyptian computations, are ascribed to the reign of the sun^c, they can be supposed to mean nothing more than his revolutions, and must be consequently regarded as wholly independent of the course of mundane affairs, of which alone cognisance is taken by chronologists. On rejecting these years from the computation, the remainder will leave the sacred and profane account so nearly on an equality, as to exemplify rather than weaken the principle on which the present inquiry is instituted. And the justice of this mode of disposing of the difficulty must be admitted, on barely inspecting the method employed in the opposed systems in computing the course of time in which the difference between them is merely accidental. As estimated by the length of the reigns of those rulers who acquired the supremacy in the world, it is necessarily confined to the consideration of living agents and their policy. But the earliest of which any account is taken by the Egyptian chronologists, cannot be referred to a higher epoch, than is assigned by the inspired historian to the creation^d.

That any regard is bestowed on those extended periods, by the ancients, arises from principles essentially different from those, on which that highest epoch is determined; and must be sought in the

^c Conf. *supr. loc. cit.*

and Chron. Can. B. C. 2889—

^d Comp. Trans. *ut supr.* p. 37. 2673.

vain endeavor to determine the origin of the world, from an observation of the constitution of nature. For, as it was assumed, that when originally constructed, the system was as perfectly arranged as nicely balanced; from an observation of its existing derangements, it was collected that they were periodical; from whence the conclusion was natural that the time of their restitution was matter of computation; and as the end of them might be thus ascertained, the commencement might be thence determined, from knowing the exact period of their duration.

The principles on which the Great Year was constructed, and its duration extended to the lunisolar period, as formed from the product of the solar and lunar cycles, have been fully explained in the early part of this discussion^e. It has been likewise shown that the inordinate time, to which the Chronology was extended, arose from the constitution of the cycle, and was wholly unconnected with fact, or the history and antiquity of the country. In reducing this immense period to practical uses, but the one course was left to the Egyptians, which it appears, on inspection, they adopted. Setting apart the long interval, which preceded the record or tradition of real events, they rejected 33,000 years, from their positive chronology, as consisting of revolutions of the sun wholly barren of incident^f. To the period which remained, they accommodated the reigns of the first rulers of the earth; and thus brought the science within those practical limits, which receive confirmation from the sacred annals^g.

^e Vid. *supr.* p. 6. sq. 134. sq.

^f Conf. *supr.* p. 133.

^g *Ibid.* p. 133.

As all idea of creation was superseded in those theories of cycles endlessly revolving; nothing analogous is discoverable in the chronology of this ancient people, which could admit of a comparison with the earliest epoch of the inspired volume. As the planetary revolutions, however, were included in their computations; the notion consequently obtained credit, to which I have frequently reverted, that the earth was subject to periodical catastrophes, from the contrary elements of fire and water. The theory of these catastrophes, as supposed to take place when great planetary conjunctions occurred with the sun in the solstices, has been elsewhere fully developed. From the principles, which it involved, not only the length but the distribution of the fabulous period of the Egyptians was deduced, as I hope soon to demonstrate. That their speculations had notwithstanding a foundation in fact, derived from tradition, is still capable of being inferred from the likeness which they preserved to their original. In such a manner were fiction and reality blended in the system, that it is often possible to separate the ore from the alloy which debases it; and trace the deflection from the direct line of truth, to the influence of a spurious science. When stripped of this disguise, with which it is overlaid, if what still appears does not directly corroborate the Sacred Annals, it discloses the grounds on which their authority is contravened or superseded.

In the fabulous period of this Chronology, as modelled according to these principles, the points requiring investigation may be reduced to the following. 1. The remarkable epoch from which it is deduced; 2. The distribution of it into the reigns

of gods and semigods. 3. The time to which it extended, as supposed to have lasted twelve centuries. From the two first of these divisions, the analogy between the sacred and profane accounts may be established; while the last discloses the source of the main differences by which they are distinguished.

I. The first date of the fabulous period exhibits a coincidence which is without a parallel in chronology, whether we consider the incidents of which it forms the epoch, or the identity with the sacred annals by which it is confirmed.

Phtah ... B. C. 3873^g. Seth ... B. C. 3874^h.

In Scripture little is recorded of Seth, beyond the date of his birth; which is here represented as identical with that of Phtah, who is placed at the head of the immortal sovereigns. From the signification of his name, as meaning *the Seed*, the connexion of his history with the prediction uttered at the time of the fall of Adam, is sufficiently obviousⁱ. In the promise which it conveyed, it was declared, that God would put enmity between the offspring of the woman and the serpent; that her *seed* should bruise his head, and his bruise her seed's heel. With a view to the prediction, the declaration of the woman, on the birth of two of her sons has been understood; as if it were intended to express her sense of having

^g Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 3873. conf. supr. p. 132. et infr. p. 378. n. ⁿ.

^h The Creation being dated B. C. 4004. vid. supr. p. 28. n. ⁱ; and Seth having been born when

Adam was 130, Gen. v. 3; his birth necessarily took place B. C. 3874: where it is placed by Abp. Ussher.

ⁱ Vid. Gen. iv. 15. et Poli Synops. in loc.

given birth to the promised vanquisher of the enemy, by whose temptation she had fallen. When delivered of her firstborn, the exclamation which she uttered, has been accordingly interpreted, “I have gotten the Man-Jehovah^j.” As the original is capable of this meaning; it has been thence inferred that some intimation is given in it, that the expected personage would partake of the divine as well as the human nature.

On the birth of that son, through whom the expected deliverer was, in process of time, destined to come, the terms in which she expressed herself are no less remarkable, for their allusion to the primeval prediction: “And she bare a son and called his name *Seth*; for God, said she, hath appointed me another *seed* for Abel^k.”

That the divinity, Phtah, was in some respect connected with the antediluvian patriarch, might be directly inferred from the date to which they are respectively referred; and which may be regarded as identical. The inference is, however, fully confirmed, by a comparison of the sacred account of the one with the fabulous description of the other. According to the highest principles of the Egyptian theology, the Divine Nature had manifested itself in a succession of Triads; and in the lowest state of emanation had become incorporated in the first mortals and their offspring^l. Phtah in this view,—as the offspring of Nef and Neith, in whom the Male and Female Principle were first individualised^m,—occupied the same place in the divine triad, which Seth

^j Id. in Gen. iv. 1.

conf. infr. p. 378. n. p.

^k Gen. iv. 25.

^m Champol. Panthé. Egypt.

^l Cory, Mythol. Inquir. p. 8.

livrais. 2^e. et 3^e.

held in the mortal, in whom it was supposed to have been first embodied. In the Mythology, which regarded the gods as invested with human forms, and engaged as human agents, Phtah was represented of a diminutive form, and distinguished by a priapean emblem, and having one foot distortedⁿ. As in the former attribute, the notion conveyed under the name Seth, or the Seed, was retained; in the latter the allusion is sufficiently obvious, to the prophecy^o which had declared that the heel of the woman's seed would be wounded. He was accordingly termed, by the Greeks, Harpocrates; a title, which as resolved into its component parts, forms in Coptic, ϩωρ ποκρⲁⲧ , "Horus the feeble-footed," or "halting on the foot^p." The tradition was preserved, even to the lowest modification which it received under the Greeks, who termed Phtah Vulcan, and also distinguished him by his lameness^q.

ⁿ Id. *ibid.* "Les Egyptiens qui voulaient rattacher l'histoire de la terre à celle des cieux, disaient que Phtah avait été le premier des leurs dynastes, mais que la durée de son règne ne saurait être fixée." Conf. Herm. ap. Apul. tom. ii. p. 307. Osburn, *Egypt. Antiq.* p. 150. comp. *infr.* n. ^p.

^o Gen. iii. 15. iv. 25.

^p Champol. *ut sup.* livr. 3. "La figure extraite de l'un des manuscrits Egyptiens, rapportés par M. Belzoni, représente Phtah ayant les pieds contournés comme l'Hephaistos Grec. Nous devons dire ici que cette circonstance prouve de plus qu' Harpocrate, mot dont les deux syllabes Pokrat expriment un individu dont

les pieds sont délicats mous ou malades, fut primitivement un des noms de Phtah." This derivation had been previously suggested by Jablonski. I much doubt, notwithstanding, whether, for ΠΟΚ , tender, we should not rather adopt ϩωϩ , halting, as compounded with ρⲁⲧ , foot, in the name of this divinity: comp. Peyron. *Lex. Copt.* p. 167.

^q M. Letronne, *Recu. des Inscrip.* *ut sup.* p. 269. considers the presumed identity between Φθᾶς and Ἡφαιστος , as consisting in nothing more than the resemblance of the names. Those who admit the preceding analogies into their estimate of the two divinities, will be inclined to regard the si-

In the infirmity, Phtah also was supposed to partake, as he is always represented with his feet swathed, so as to be incapable of using them in walking^r. It was supposed to have been inherited by Harpocrates, in consequence of his being conceived, and, as Plutarch declares, “prematurely born of Isis, by Osiris after his death; in consequence of which, he contracted a weakness in his extremities^s.”

Isis derived her name from the term Isa, ‘woman^t,’ which is applied to Eve, in the curse that entailed mortality on the human species^u: the fable is thus easily traced to its source in the primeval tradition. For when Adam, after the fall, was deprived of immortality, his offspring, in becoming obnoxious to disease and death, were supposed to inherit the infirmity of their progenitor. In every modification, consequently, which the tradition underwent, it so far preserved its likeness to its parentage, that we are at once enabled to determine its lineage.

2. As the immediate successors of Phtah are divided into gods and semigods^v; the progeny of Seth are distributed into two races, which are contrasted as “the sons of God,” and their offspring, from an alliance with “the daughters of men^w.” As the two races constituted distinct species, of whom the primitive stock conformed to the divine immortal nature, while their degenerate progeny rather partook of the mortal and polluted; the foundation was thus laid for that division of the early occupants of the

milarity of their names as affording some proof of their identity.

^r Champol. ut supr. livrais. 2.

^s Plut. de Isid. cap. xix. p. 470.

^t Id. ibid. liii. 125. lv. 131.

^u Gen. ii. 23.

^v Maneth. ap. Syncel. p. 51. comp. supr. p. 132. Chron. Can. B. C. 3873. 2889.

^w Gen. vi. 2.

earth which was adopted by the Egyptians^x. For they conferred on the spiritual agency, with which their mythologists supposed a higher state of existence was peopled, an existence, conceived after the analogy of the lower, by abstracting and refining on known and sensible objects.

It is not necessary to my present purpose to enter into an investigation of this principle, or to examine the different versions of the tradition, which gave rise to the division of the heathen chronologists: although considerable light is shed upon it in the views taken of it, in the Phenician fragments which pass under the name of Sanchoniatho, and the apocryphal book which is ascribed to Enoch^y. It is merely necessary to state the simple facts of the story, which were modified and embellished according to the views and prepossessions of the parties, by whom they were received and transmitted. According to the common testimony, the sons of Seth had addicted themselves from the earliest times to astronomical inquiries; which they prosecuted on Mt. Hermon, according to the later accounts of the apocryphal writers. It is indeed probable, from every source whence information can be derived on so remote and obscure a subject, that the first observers had acquired, even at this early age, some knowledge of the length of the year, and had begun to compute the rate of the planetary motions. As in the florid and exaggerated diction of the orientalists, from whom the tradition is derived, the name of ‘stars,’ and of ‘sons of God’ is

^x See Bampton. Lect. ut supr. p. 444.

^y Hamaker, Miscel. Phœn. lib. v. p. 164. Enoch. sect. ii. p. 5. sq.

applied to the angels; the notion hence easily arose of an intercourse between the early observers and those ministering spirits, both of whom were indiscriminately termed Watchers. Seduced by the allurements of the beauteous but depraved daughters of Cain, the sons of Seth descended from their elevated abodes and high speculations, and having formed a criminal alliance with the daughters of earth, gave birth to a lawless race, who "filled the earth with corruption and violence." Having in fact placed no restraint on the irascible and concupiscible passions, which were common to them with the most savage animals, they were accordingly regarded as a race of monsters^z.

It is not to be supposed that this defection was immediate, but the effect of time and circumstances; no precise date is consequently assigned to it in the sacred Annals. According to the main distribution of the fabulous period of the Egyptians, already intimated, it should be probably taken from the introduction of evil into the world, on the accession of Typhon^a. The year B. C. 2918, to which it is thus referred, comes within a few years of the death of the patriarch Seth B. C. 2962^b; and if we receive the authority of some apocryphal works, which refer it to the year B. C. 2948^c, within these limits, which rather define its growth, than determine its epoch, it may be regarded as determined with sufficient

^z Syncel. et Enoch ubi supr. The allusions to the same subject, in Plutarch are too obvious to be misunderstood: De Isid. cap. xli. p. 506. conf. cap. xl. p. 503. xli. p. 506.

^a See Chron. Can. B. C. 2918.

conf. Plut. ut supr. cap. l. p. 521.

^b Seth died, aged 912, Gen. v. 8. as born B. C. 3874. he must have died, B. C. 2962. conf. supr. p. 376. n. h.

^c See Bampton. Lect. ut supr. n. x.

probability. In the mean year of these different dates, the descent of the Watchers is placed^d; under which ambiguous name, as already intimated, the first observers of the celestial motions, and the guardian spirits who watch over human interests, were confounded. It would appear consequently, that but a few years had elapsed between the death of Seth, and the defection of his posterity; nor can it be supposed that in a shorter period than fifteen years, to which the distance is reduced, the influence of the patriarch's authority and example could have been forgotten.

If the preceding synchronisms be admitted as probably fixed, it would thus appear, that the main division of the fabulous period of the Egyptians, as distributed into gods and semigods, was deduced from the distinction between the righteous and apostate progeny of Seth; by whose distinctive appellations, "as sons of God" and the offspring of men, it may be supposed, without any stretch of imagination, to have been suggested. When in these considerations we further include the direct connexion which subsists between the tradition of the patriarch and every part of the fabulous statement; as well in the comparison of Phtah with the promised Seed, as of his progeny who first peopled the earth, with the divine race by whom it was originally governed: that the limits within which the fabulous period is included, should so exactly correspond with the year of the patriarch's birth and so nearly with that of his death, will not be surely ascribed to accident. And if it be imputed to design, the extraordinary coincidence in the dates, on either

^d See Bampt. Lect. ut supr. p. 380. n. x.

side, must be received, as a proof of the accuracy with which they are fixed in the pagan chronology.

As a corrective to the scepticism which may be felt, respecting the possibility of a date, of such remote antiquity as the epoch of the fabulous period, having been so faithfully transmitted, its association with the earliest astronomical observations may be mentioned. To account for its preservation, even for so long a period, it will suffice to observe, that from the same epoch, or one of nearly a like antiquity, those cycles were deduced, which were used to compute the future catastrophe of the world, that Seth was supposed to have predicted^e. As long as they continued to be employed for such a purpose, it was possible from the knowledge of any current year of those revolving periods, to determine the first year, in which they originated. And we have positive evidence, as early as the times of Rameses Menephtha, and as late as those of Ptolemy Euergetes^f, for concluding that they were practically used by the Egyptians for such a purpose. However consequently the true date of so remote an event might have been originally ascertained; there is no difficulty in conceiving how it might be preserved, when it was once acquired.

3. A difficulty, however, still remains to be cleared up, respecting the limits assigned to the period deemed fabulous, as thus deduced from its epoch; which the Egyptians computed at twelve centuries^g. And we must again refer for its solution, to the patriarch Seth, to whom a prophecy is ascribed, by the Jews; in which it was foretold that the earth

^e Trans. ut supr. p. 14. et p. 44. n. 160.

^f Vid. supr. p. 368. n. 2.

^g Vid. supr. p. 137. 138.

would perish, by a conflagration and a deluge^h. This prediction, (of which Enoch seems to have given the true interpretation, which might be deduced from the sabbatical mode of computing time,) the ancient astrologers regarded as a problem, of which their science was capable of giving the solution. As I took occasion to observe, they conceived that those contrary catastrophes, would be effected in the ordinary course of nature, when grand conjunctions of the planets should take place with the sun, in the tropical points of the heavensⁱ. Having formerly explained myself fully on the planetary theory^k; little more is necessary to my present purpose than to state the period and effects of those grand conjunctions. According to the observed rate, at which the luminaries shifted their place in the zodiac, it was computed, that a period of 1200 years would elapse between one tropical conjunction and another. On these principles the length of the fabulous period was determined; which as destined to terminate in a deluge, must be regarded as analogous to the antediluvian period, which had a similar termination.

In the tradition which ascribed this prediction to Seth, care was taken, that a provident provision should be made for its transmission to future ages, though the record to which it was committed, was exposed to destruction in the catastrophe which it predicted. It was accordingly maintained, that its author caused it to be inscribed upon pillars of brick and stone, as fitted to resist the destructive power of either element, from which the portended catastrophe, as igneous or aqueous, might be appre-

^h Joseph. Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 2. ad fin. Syncel. p. 8.

ⁱ Vid. supr. p. 7. sq.

^j Ibid.

^k Ib. p. 8.

hended^l. Those who have discovered something apocryphal in this account of the manner in which the prediction has been transmitted, have found, in its general reception among mankind, sufficient evidence for including it among the antediluvian dogmata, preserved with Noah in the ark; from whom, it has been consequently concluded, it passed to his descendants^m. Many of the circumstances with which the tradition was embellished, they supposed to be borrowed from the opinions, which prevailed on the subject in Egypt. In the essay, in which, we are told, Manetho undertook to satisfy the curiosity of Ptolemy, on the destruction with which the earth was threatened, he declared the knowledge of it was originally preserved upon pillars; to which it had been committed by the elder Thoth, and was thence transcribed, by the later mystagogue of the same name, into his voluminous writingsⁿ. This assertion,

^l Joseph. loc. cit.

^m Burnet, Theor. vol. ii. p. 29.

ⁿ Ap. Syncel. p. 40. The authenticity of the letter addressed by Manetho to Ptolemy Philadelphus, has been impugned, in consequence of the title *σεβαστός*, by which the successors of Augustus were designated, being ascribed, in the superscription, to the king of Egypt. This title had been, however, applied to the gods, among whom that king was enrolled, (vid. Böckh. Erklär. ut supr. p. 9.) before the Senate, on the motion of Munatius Plancus, conferred it on the Roman Emperor: from which memorable event the *Æra Augustorum Deorum* was computed. The differ-

ence between the epithet, when applied to sovereigns, and used as a proper name, is obvious, from that of the month, which those who wrote Greek usually termed *Αύγουστος*: vid. Ptol. de Appar. p. 51. ed. Petav. The Egyptians, on the contrary, long adhered to the original custom of using *σεβαστός*, as an adjective; terming the very month, called August after Augustus, *Θεὸς σεβαστή*, as appears in the dedication of the propylon at Tentyra: voir Letronne, Rec. ut supr. p. 81. While I therefore protest against the brand of spuriousness, which has been affixed to this letter, in consequence of the term applied to Ptolemy: as it merely occurs

as imputed to the learned priest, was not without authority, derived from the remotest ages. Of both the sources of his information, express mention is made in the inscription on the cieling of the Rame-seion^o; from which not only the authenticity and high antiquity of the tradition is deducible; but its connexion with the early cycles, employed in verifying or computing the portended results, is strictly demonstrable.

In thus referring the prediction to the elder Thoth, the Egyptians not only admitted it to be of foreign origin, but to have been derived to them from Palestine^p. From the same extraneous source, the cycle was derived, by which they undertook to determine its result, and thence proceeded to assign its proper length to the fabulous period. They did not indeed adopt the theory from their foreign neighbors, in its integrity, but, in appropriating it, gave it the impress of their native science. They thus commenced the cycle from the first year of Pthah, whose identity with Vulcan sufficiently declares its origination from the element of fire. And in assigning it a length of 9000 revolutions,—which they equally regarded as the duration of his reign—they applied their great national cycle, as far as was practicable, in solving the problem which had exercised the skill of the ancient astronomers^q. I have

in the superscription, it may be admitted to be justly applied, without impeaching the authenticity of the subjoined letter.

^o The hieroglyphic inscription of the cieling of the Memnonium, which is as ancient as the times of Rameses III, contains the fol-

lowing notice, on the left margin. "In the rere are the walls, where are the writings of Thoth's chamber." Burt. Excerpt. pl. lviii. comp. supr. p. 214. n. ^b. and ^c.

^p Bampton. Lect. ut supr. p. 434.

^q Vid. supr. p. 49.

had occasion formerly to observe, that so many lunations were equal to one half of the great canicular cycle, in the course of which, the sun, in commencing the civil year, passed from one solstitial point to another. In these points of the heavens, and at this distance of time, it has been equally observed, those planetary conjunctions were expected to take place, which would produce the great mundane catastrophes^r.

But as those crises mainly depended upon such grand conjunctions, which those cycles were wholly incompetent to compute, it became necessary to include the planetary motions in the solution of the problem. And not only the principles on which they were determined, but the cycles which were used for the purpose, lead us to conclude that the theory employed in the solution, had passed from the East into Egypt; as we might indeed independently infer, from the introduction of the tradition, into the latter country, having been imputed to the elder Thoth, who was confessedly of foreign extraction.

In an early part of this work, to which I have frequently had occasion to refer, the principles on which the theory of the great planetary year was founded, have been disclosed^s. Some account was at the same time given, of the physical causes, by which it was supposed to be limited, and of the catastrophes which its revolution portended to the world.

To the period thus defined, it may be supposed, the Egyptians would be better affected, in consequence of the ease with which it might be assimilated to their native cycles. For, on taking their

^r Ibid.

^s Vid. supr. p. 8.

small lunar cycle of 25 years as a great *week*; as four of such periods, amounting to 100 years, would form a great *month*; 12 of such months, amounting to 12 centuries, would form a Great Year. Still it would appear that it was determined, in length, by the motions of Jupiter and Saturn^t. We have authority for believing those planets were employed, for such a purpose, in Egypt, as early as the times of Moses. In the tradition which was preserved, among the Israelites, respecting the tabernacle of Moloch and Remphan, which was borne by them in the wilderness^u; we have every reason to conclude those planets were intended, by whose motions those early cycles were determined; as I shall soon find an occasion for proving.

We may, therefore, venture to conclude from the dates assigned to the main epochs and division of the Egyptian Chronology, as interwoven with the tradition of the patriarch Seth, that it retains convincing evidence of the high original from whence it descended. In the principles which have been developed, we equally detect the source, from whence, as thus derived, it has been deranged and corrupted; with a view to its adaptation to a scientific theory. While in the immense antiquity and paramount importance of the dates, which have been verified from the Sacred Chronology, that evidence, which is conclusive as far as it extends, remains of its accuracy even in the remotest ages.

^t Ibid.

conf. Leidek. Repub. Hebr. tom.

^u Amos v. 26. Act. vii. 43. i. p. 239. 701.

SECT. II.

The fable of Osiris and Menes confirmed from the tradition of Noah, before and after the Deluge.

THE disposition of the Egyptians to explain away traditionary facts into scientific deductions, in order to compute the time of future revolutions, led them to substitute fictitious epochs, in their chronology, for the proper dates of the creation and deluge. In the theories which were consequently substituted, for the record or tradition of facts, some remembrance of those catastrophes was notwithstanding preserved; although the time when they occurred was necessarily adapted to the results which were attained, in their attempts to determine the periods of the expected conflagration or deluge.

While facts of the magnitude of these great catastrophes, were of too stubborn a nature to accommodate themselves to the deductions of the theorist, or computer; the dates of the patriarchs' lives were of a nature more ductile and manageable. We consequently find, that coincidences frequently occur between them, and the periods assigned to the fictitious personages, who acquired an imaginary existence, through vague yet early tradition. Such, as I have already observed, was the case of Seth; and such also appears to have been that of Noah.

The traditions respecting the patriarch who was justly considered the father of the new world, were less likely to be forgotten or perverted, than those of his great progenitor, of the antediluvian world.

He lived nearer to the historical times, and his life embraced events of greater interest and magnitude. The coincidences to which it has accordingly given rise, not only extend to incident and character, but to dates, which are no less remarkable than the antecedent. The old world was supposed to have been destroyed and renovated by the deluge. Noah, as an inhabitant of both old and new, was assigned characters essentially different from each other. As enclosed in the ark, which had outlasted the catastrophe, it was supposed that he had died and was again resuscitated. The extraordinary length of his life, thus divided, laid the foundation for two fabulous characters, in the Osiris and Menes of the mythologists, who were accordingly distinguished as having lived before and after the deluge^a. Independent of the remarkable coincidences in the lives and actions of the opposed personages; the times to which they are respectively referred, in the sacred and profane chronology, leave no room for doubt that the fabulous characters originated in traditions respecting the antediluvian patriarch^b.

Osiris	B. C. 2953	Noah	B. C. 2948
Menes reigns	2673	— ..	(aged 275) 2673
— dies	2611	— ..	(aged 337) 2611

I. The inconsiderable difference of five years, between the two first dates, which are here opposed, affords as strong evidence as such coincidences can

^a Although the legend of Osiris is involved in great obscurity; it is very fully allowed that he was a mortal, and perished through the malevolence of Typhon, who

was considered the destructive or watery principle: vid. Plut. ut supr. cap. xxii. p. 474. cap. xix. p. 469. comp. supr. p. 97.

^b To avoid unnecessary repeti-

be supposed to supply of the identity of the characters; more particularly, as confirmed by such as are no less striking in the names and actions. (1) The name Osiris, as pronounced by the priests, we are assured by Plutarch, was derived from a word signifying, *rain*, and *moisture*^c. No name could be applied, with greater fitness than this, to one who was ascribed so distinguished a part, as Noah, in the tradition of a pluvial deluge. (2) It was believed of Osiris, that he was the author of civilisation, and had imparted to mankind a knowledge of agriculture, and particularly of the cultivation of the vine^d. Of Noah it is recorded, that "he began to be a husbandman, and planted a vineyard^e." (3) The principal events in the life of Osiris are limited to the facts of his having been enclosed in an ark^f, and having wandered over the earth, through which he propagated the knowledge of his agricultural discoveries^g. The first of these events, would be of itself sufficient to identify Noah, in the tradition of the fabulous divinity; the subsequent finds a direct explanation, in the distribution of his progeny over the earth, and the arts and civilisation, which they bore with them in their dispersion.

But as involving a proof which is strictly chrono-

tion, it may be observed generally that the contrasted dates, in such comparative lists as that in the text, are adopted, on the one side, from the system of Abp. Ussher, and may be found in the margin of the Bible. On the other side, they may be verified in the Chronological Canon, prefixed to this work, which is founded on the

present Chronology.

^c Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxvii. p. 499. conf. cap. xxxiv. p. 493.

^d Plut. ut supr. cap. xiii. p. 460.

^e Gen. ix. 20.

^f Plut. ut supr. cap. xiii. p. 461. xiv. p. 463.

^g Id. ibid. cap. xiii. p. 460.

logical, and still more conclusive, is the coincidence of the day, of the entrance into the ark, both in the sacred and the profane chronology. This will be directly apparent on reducing to the coincident year of the Julian Period the dates, respectively assigned to that event, by Moses and Manetho.

In the sacred record it is declared that "in the second month, the seventeenth day of the month, Noah entered into the ark^h." It might be easily shown, were this the proper place, from the account given of the deluge by the sacred historian, that the patriarchal year was intercalated with a week at a time, as was indeed necessary for the preservation of the sabbatical mode of computing. It is besides generally allowed by chronologists, that the beginning of the patriarchal year was computed from the autumnal equinox, which fell on Oct. 25th, B. C. 4004, the year of the Creationⁱ. Having at the time of the Deluge, B. C. 2348, anticipated a week on the seasons; it was then, consequently, reckoned from Oct. 18th. "The seventeenth of the second month," computed from this date, taken as expressing the first day of the year, fell on the 3rd of December.

The day of Osiris's entrance into the ark, when pursued by the enmity of Typhon, was commemorated by the Egyptians, on Athyr 17th^j: the year in which it occurred, was necessarily that in which the usurper succeeded to the vacated throne of Isis^k. As the distance between the accession of Typhon and Menes, was computed by Manetho at 243 years; 214 of which are ascribed to the Semi-

^h Gen. vii. 11. 13.

^j Plut. ut supr. cap. xiii. p. 461.

ⁱ Trans. ut supr. p. 302. n. 56.

^k Syncel. p. 19.

gods, and 29 to Typhon¹; on deducting that period, from the accession of Menes, J. P. 2041, B. C. 2673, as forming a cardinal epoch in that chronology; we find the year of J. P. 1798, B. C. 2916, to be that of Osiris's entrance into the ark, on Typhon's usurpation.

According to the mode of computing, by the Metonic cycle, which was employed in Egypt, during the times of the Ptolemies, when Manetho lived; in this year, Athyr 17th corresponded with Dec. 3rd. For, on deducting 17 cycles or 2584 years, from the basis of Meton J. P. 4282ⁿ, the remainder 1698 gives the first year of the anticipated cycle: on adding a century to which, in order to obtain the year of Typhon's usurpation J. P. 1798, it proves to be the 101st year of the Metonic cycle^o. According to the statement of Plutarch, the Egyptian month Athyr was concurrent with the Athenian Pyanepsion^p; which in the 101st cycle had its 1st day coincident with Nov. 17th^q. The 17th of Pyanepsion and Athyr, computed from that day, consequently fell on Dec. 3rd, J. P. 1798. Osiris in being represented, as having entered the ark upon that day, was consequently supposed to have entered it on the same day of the year as Noah, according to the sacred records.

It has been already observed that in the legend of Typhon, the Egyptians personified the destructive principle, under the influence of which, Osiris was supposed to have perished. His name has been ac-

¹ Trans. ut supr. p. 298. n. 42.

^m Ibid. p. 294. comp. supr. p. 133.

ⁿ Vid. Dodw. de Cycl. Diss. I. p. 60.

^o Id. ibid. p. 721.

^p Plut. ut supr. cap. lxix. p. 549. comp. Dodw. supr. p. 228. n. d.

^q Dodw. ibid. p. 721.

cordingly understood to signify Deluge^r, and it was supposed that, as the destructive agent, he had produced that catastrophe. Four days were observed, by that people, in commemoration of that event, which extended from Athyr 17th to the 20th inclusive^s. Among the ceremonies which were observed on these days, it was customary to bear an ark in procession to the sea, into which pure fresh water was at the same time poured^t. It is thus easily conceived, how the day on which so remarkable an occurrence had taken place, should have been accurately preserved; while the year was forgotten, and finally superseded by one, which was chosen from a merely mythological association. Having been immemorially observed as an anniversary; *the day* was necessarily remembered, in its annual observance; while no *one year*, for the period during which it was observed, retained a characteristic mark by which it could be distinguished from another.

In the native mythology, the character of Osiris, as opposed to Typhon, was subsequently generalised; and these divinities were regarded, by the allegorists, as antagonist principles in nature^u. But the primitive tradition, in which the former was recognised as a mortal, was never forgotten; the circumstances of his death having been not merely retained, but the supposed place of his burial pointed out at Abydos^v. He was thus supposed to be identified, in some manner, with the dead; who were consequently distinguished, in hieroglyphic language, by

^r الصونان, conf. Anc. Hist. vol. ii. p. 277. Plut. ut supr. cap. xxxii. p. 490. cap. xxxix. p. 501.

^s Id. loc. cit. p. 502.

^t Id. ibid.

^u Id. ib. cap. xxxiii. p. 491.

^v Id. ut supr. cap. xx. p. 492.

the epithet Osirian^w. For other apparent contradictions in his fabulous history we must look to the tradition of Noah's supposed destruction and recovery from the ark. In commemoration of that event, the four days were observed, of which I have spoken ; on one of which the loss of Osiris, and on another his recovery were accordingly celebrated. It may be easily conceived, how in process of time, and with the growth of superstition, events, which were at first merely commemorated as past, should have given rise to the belief of an agency, which exerted an annual influence upon nature. And as the object of veneration was changed, the reverence which had been paid to the one, should have produced the adoration which was at last engrossed by the other.

While it was impossible, that the Egyptians, as long as they adhered to the principles of their astronomical theories, could have recognised the true year of such a catastrophe, as the deluge: the fidelity with which they preserved the knowledge of the *day*, on which it commenced, from observing it as an annual festival, is sufficient to prove that their chronology, however perverted, was descended from a pure source. Even from this solitary instance of its accuracy, we might conclude, that some of the principal epochs in it were derived from the highest authority, and faithfully preserved, unless when the influence of a spurious science was acknowledged.

II. As the Egyptians modified the early traditions according to the fashionable science, or prevailing superstition ; it is no matter of surprise, that they should have denied the effects of the deluge

^w Id. ut supr. cap. xxii. p. 486. 489. Macrob. Sat. p. 21. Birch, Galler. p. 29.

had reached their favored country. Under this impression, they seem to have preserved some true notions of the tradition of Noah, as having survived the flood, and thus laid the foundation of the post-diluvian notions and policy. They thus placed Menes at the head of the historical period; which, they naturally conceived, had its commencement in Egypt.

That Menes, if regarded as a different person from Noah, was contemporaneous with the patriarch, has been already shown from a comparative view of the time when they flourished. It was then rendered apparent, that the founder of the Egyptian monarchy had reigned between the years 275 and 337 of the antediluvian patriarch^x. The presumption which thus arises in favor of their identity, is raised to proof by the consideration of the name and actions, which the Egyptians ascribed to the founder of their nation.

In the most obscure and contradictory of the traditions which were preserved of Menes, his identity with Noah is implicitly admitted. It was supposed that he had perished by a hippopotamus^y. In this account, the notion of his association with the deluge is not merely preserved; but the mode of its preservation is intimated, in hieroglyphic language. That animal was the acknowledged symbol of the deluge, and of Typhon in whom it was personified^z. The mythologists accordingly represented the bull Apis, into which the soul of Menes had passed by transmigration, as having been attacked by Typhon,

^x Vid. *supr.* p. 390.

553. lxxiii. p. 555. xxxii. 489.

^y Maneth. ap. Syncel. p. 54.

xxxiii. 491.

^z Plut. *ut supr.* cap. lxxii. p.

in the form of that animal. On this fiction, the delineation on the cieling of the Rameseion is mainly founded; which describes the crisis of the conversion of the great cycle, on which either catastrophe, produced by water or fire, was supposed to be dependent^a.

In the name Menes, ascribed to the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, his traditionary descent from Noah, is not less plainly admitted. As interpreted by hierogrammatists it signifies,—when divested of its Greek form and reduced to the hieroglyphic,—“walking with Amon^b”; or after this term, passed from a name into a title, “walking with the Lord^c.” The allusion, in this simple epithet, to the high testimony, which Scripture bears to the patriarch Noah, is sufficiently obvious, “that he was a just man, and walked with God^d.” Although in the interpretation given of it by Eratosthenes, its hieroglyphic form is plainly recognised; its original force is weakened, in compliance with the prevailing superstition. The term Διόμιος, Jovian, Ammonian, by which he explains it^e, indicates its association with the Supreme God of the Egyptians^f, who according to the testimony of the native and foreign mythologists was the same as Jupiter Amon. In the succession of Egyptian sovereigns, Menes, at the head of those who were regarded as merely mortals, is directly subjoined to Amon, who closes the line of the immortals^g. In assigning him this place

^a Burt. Excerpt. pl. lviii. lix.

^b Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. i. pt. 1. p. 124.

^c Id. ap. Ungarel. Obel. Rom. p. 36. n. 159.

^d Gen. vi. 9.

^e Laterc. ap. Syncel. p. 91.

^f Vid. Rosellin. ut supr. n. c.

^g Chron. Can. supr. B. C. 2673.

respect was doubtless paid to the traditions relative to Ham, whom the Egyptians revered as their great progenitor; and in whom they conceived the tutelary god of Thebes was incarnate^h. Having been contemporary with Noah, as father and son, they follow each other in the pagan chronology. Although, with a partiality which was natural to the Egyptians, the precedence is assigned to him who was regarded as the father of the nationⁱ.

Some traditions respecting Noah, were preserved with more fidelity, and consequently appropriated to Menes, by whom Thebes was supposed to have been founded. It is indeed most remarkable, that almost the only incident which is on record, in the life of either, as prolonged after the flood, preserves the tradition of their inebriety^j. The coincidence may be included among those which establish an identity in facts and dates, that brings no slight confirmation to the pagan chronology, as so far confirmed by the sacred.

In proportion to the veneration, in which Ham was held, as the great progenitor of the Egyptians, the traditions respecting him appear to have been interwoven in their astronomical theories; according to which, the time when he had lived was determined by that, at which it was expected he would again return. In fixing the age at which he lived, the early traditions respecting him, have been consequently deserted altogether. That the fabulous account of Amon was founded on these traditions, has been proved by Bochart, with a felicity which

^h Osburn, Trans. R. Soc. Lit. p. 493.
vol. ii. p. 307.

^j Diodor. lib. i. p. 42. al. 29.

ⁱ Vid. Bampt. Lect. ut supr. Gen. ix. 21. 24.

his mythological parallels are rarely observed to exhibit^k. He has clearly shown, that many of the mistakes which they betray, had originated in a misconception of their meaning, as transmitted in the Hebrew.

With the date assigned to him in the Egyptian chronology, I am at present exclusively concerned. It is purely factitious, and seems to have been determined, if not in the reign of Rameses Menephtha, not long previously to that monarch. In that reign, the neomenia, in its retrocession had reached July 20th B. C. 1325; and the beginning of the civil year being then found coincident with the rising of Sirius, and of the Nile; the occasion was thence taken to fix the epoch of the great canicular cycle^l. By computing from it, one whole period, or 1460 years, in ascent; the accession of Amon was consequently placed B. C. 2785^m; to which it is referred in the Egyptian chronology, a slight allowance being made for the difference between the erratic and secret year of that people. In the spirit of the theory, on which those cycles were formed, it was supposed they would effect a great mundane restitution. And as the new era was introduced under the auspices of the tutelary god of Thebes; its former epoch was necessarily placed under his patronage: it being a principle, recognised in those theories, that the same order of things, would be restored by those cycles, at the crisis of their conversion. While these principles were respected, in utter disregard of traditional facts, it can be no matter of surprise, that the Egyptians should have erred so widely from the

^k Bochart. Phaleg, lib. i. c. 1.
p. 2. 19.

^l Vid. supr. p. 356. conf. p. 103.

^m Vid. Chron. Can. B. C. 2783.

truth, in determining the age of their great progenitor.

It may be generally concluded on taking a review of the earliest period of the Egyptian Chronology, as thus distributed, that it was founded on the antediluvian and traditional remains of the Patriarchal Chronology. Although modelled according to the principles of a spurious or defective science; its main epochs and divisions, as it was distributed into the reigns of gods and semigods, analogous to the races of Seth and Cain, were adopted from the ages of the most distinguished patriarchs. The resemblance appears to have extended originally to a number of the reigns in the pagan system, which were probably limited to ten, as we observe to be the case, not only in the Hebrew but the Chaldee traditionⁿ. To this number, those reigns may be in fact reduced, on rejecting those rulers from the line of sovereigns, who are proved, by their names, or the place assigned to them, to have been interpolated in the succession. Such are Mars, Anubis and Hercules interposed between Horus and Apollo; and Tithoes and Sosus between Jupiter and Amon^o. As the names Horus and Apollo, Jupiter and Amon which are thus separated belong to the same divinities; the different years of their government when collected into the reigns of the two deities to

ⁿ Trans. ut sup. vol. iii. p. 37. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. ix. cap. 8. vol. ii. p. 11.

^o The arbitrary nature of this distribution, in which undue respect was paid to the Greek mythology, in modelling the Egyptian, is obvious from that list of

divinities adopted in the Turin Papyrus; in which it appears the Egyptian names were retained, although it cannot be conjectured, in what order they were disposed. See Birch. Obs. on the Hier. Can. p. 3. comp. supr. p. 262. n.^w.

whom they properly belong, will leave the chronology unaffected by the alteration. As 106 years will be thus ascribed to Horus-Apollo, and 120 to Jupiter Ammon. On rejecting the supernumeraries from the line of succession, in the ten which remain, the common tradition of the East will be verified; in which it was maintained, that the antediluvian world had subsisted under ten patriarchs. On the principal epochs in the lives of those who held the most distinguished place among them, we have observed, the Egyptian Chronology was distributed. That they were extended to fifteen was solely in compliance with an arbitrary principle, on which the number of the dynasties, as well of the immortals as the mortals, was fixed to thirty^p. As the truth of history had limited those of the latter order to fifteen; to complete the requisite number, it was necessary to render those of the former order equally numerous. Each of the ten primitive rulers being thus accounted equivalent to a dynasty; in order to supply the deficiency, five were added to the original list, and the required number of thirty consequently effected. As the interpolated sovereigns sufficiently declare their illegitimacy in their names, and the place assigned them in the succession; on rejecting them from the authentic line, the analogy between the sacred and profane chronology becomes more close and apparent. The authority of the one may be consequently pleaded, in conclusion, in proof of the accuracy of the other.

^p Vid. supr. p. 176.

SECT. III.

The traditions of Joseph identified in the account of Hermes, particularly as reformer of the Calendar.

It was perfectly natural that the first occupants of the earth should measure the course of time, by the lives of their most venerated forefathers. The inhabitants of the most ancient countries would thus acquire, by tradition, a knowledge of the principal epochs. Thus it would in fact appear, they were acquired by the Egyptians, as computed from the principal years of Seth and Noah. But in the long interval which elapsed between the times of those early patriarchs, and the departure from Egypt, under Moses, the Hebrew nation could have excited no attention. It may therefore appear a vain undertaking to search for coincidences, in express dates, during that obscure period, between the sacred and profane chronology.

In that time, notwithstanding, Joseph and Moses acquired that rank in this ancient country, which rendered them objects of attention, if not of distinction, among the natives. As we are acquainted with the dates of the principal events in their lives; if those of the sovereigns' reigns, under whom they lived, are accurately determined; when a comparison is instituted between them, it cannot fail to exhibit coincidences by which the pagan chronology may be confirmed, or to reveal discrepancies, by which it may be convicted of error. Nor is the test, which thus arises from comparison more easy in the attainment than the application. No more is necessary

to its practical adaptation than a bare inspection of the successions, in the different schemes of chronology, which admit of being confronted with each other. In the correspondence or disagreement which they exhibit, the requisite data are supplied for obtaining a just conclusion.

According to the testimony of the ancient chronologists, the Pharaoh under whom Joseph flourished was named Apophis^a. Within the reign of this monarch, as it is disposed in the present chronology, the principal events in the patriarch's life are comprehended^b. As it extended to 61 years, it may be reasonably supposed to have included the most active period of the patriarch's life^c, as the comparative dates, in the annexed scale, will render apparent :

	B. C.		B. C.
Joseph sold into Egypt . .	1736	Apophis ascends the throne . .	1729
— made prime-minister	1722	— enters his 8th year	1722
— dies aged 110	1642	— dies having reigned 61 yrs.	1668

Nothing, it is obvious, can better accord, than this distribution of the years on either side, with the de-

^a Syncel. p. 62. 69. comp. Trans. ut supr. p. 312. n. 83. p. 322. n. 118. conf. infr. p. 410. n. 8.

^b Conf. supr. p. 221.

^c Although I have generally followed Abp. Ussher, in his system of Hebrew Chronology ; I have found it necessary to depart from his authority, from the birth of Abraham to the death of Levi. In the arbitrary accommodation of Abraham's birth to the opening of the 41st jubilee A. M. 2008 it has been advanced, by the learned Primate, above 7 years ; and so many years have been in conse-

quence withdrawn by him from the period of Jacob's servitude with Laban ; which is reduced to 7 years, Annal. ad A. M. 2245 ; while it is expressly extended to 14 in Scripture, Gen. xxxi. 41. By this error, the whole of the patriarchal chronology, within the abovementioned limits, has been advanced 7 years ; which must be consequently deducted from the dates of the learned chronologist, to accommodate them to Scripture : ut supr. Warburt. Lect. p. 509. In the computations of the present section, I have uniformly made this necessary deduction.

scription of Joseph's life in Scripture; in which it is represented as having been passed under one sovereign. His first adventure, in the house of Potiphar, B. C. 1725 according to the ratio between the above dates, thus appears to have occurred in the 5th year of Apophis^d; his last great measure B. C. 1711, in which he reduced the land under the crown, with the exemption of that held by the priests^e, occurred in the 19th year of the same monarch, and the 13th of his own administration. From his first promotion, when he was 30, B. C. 1722, to the death of the king B. C. 1668, he held the principal office in the state 54 years; and having then entered his 84th year, it is most reasonable to conclude that on the accession of a new king, he retired from public business.

Apophis was, however, of the dynasty of Shepherds^f, or Phenicians, with whose history that of the Israelites, as having been of the same origin, is generally confounded, by the native Egyptians. It might be thence naturally concluded, had it not been attested by the chronologists, that Joseph was indebted to a prince of that race, for his promotion in a country, where foreigners were viewed with contempt and intolerance. During the domination of that dynasty, the native historians, under the influence of this prejudice, pretended to trace the royal succession through a line of Theban sovereigns. In the list of these, which Eratosthenes has preserved, and which was no doubt supplied from the catalogue of subordinate rulers, one of the name of Hermes is introduced^g, and made contemporary

^d Conf. supr. p. 221. Trans. ut
supr. p. 312. n. 83.

^e Usser. ut supr. ad A.M. 2289.

^f Vid. supr. p. 220.

^g Vid. supr. p. 166. comp.
Chron. Can. B. C. 1711.

with Joseph, while in the height of his power, which was inferior only to that of the reigning monarch.

From many striking coincidences, Hermes and Joseph have been generally considered the same person: which supposition is strengthened, in no slight degree, by the light in which the Phenician and Theban succession have been just represented. I have elsewhere offered several proofs, derived from the similarity of their names and actions, to establish their identity^h; and they might be easily multiplied and extended. I shall at present mention but one or two, as bearing generally on the present subject, but particularly on the date B. C. 1711, which Eratosthenes ascribes to the prince, whom he introduces under this name, among the Theban sovereigns. In conformity with what has been observed of Joseph, it may be added, that in this year, he made the new partition of the land, in which the possessions of the priests were respectedⁱ; and that the same measure is, in effect, ascribed, by the native historians, to Hermes^j, although the date of it is not mentioned.

The principal invention or improvement, however, for which the person, named Thoth or Hermes, is celebrated is his reformation of the Egyptian Calendar^k. And I am much deceived, if in the character of the reformation which it received, the internal evidence does not go far in establishing, that it was corrected by the hand of a person, possessed of similar prejudices to those of Joseph. By the changes which were then introduced, in the mode

^h Bampt. Lect. ut sup. p. 485.

^j Herm. lib. ap. Clem. Alex.

ⁱ Gen. xlvii. 20. 22. Usser. ut

Str. vi. p. 633.

supr. ad A. M. 2297.

^k Strab. lib. xvii. p. 816.

of computing time, not only the equated or secret year, but the civil or equable was affected. The epochs of both were, in fact, then determined, on principles, which were peculiar to Joseph, as a Hebrew; and introduced at a time, when his authority, in Egypt, was at the highest, and absolute among the priesthood, to whom he was allied by marriage¹.

1. It has been superficially supposed that the reformation of the calendar, which was then introduced, consisted in the addition of the epagomenæ to the civil year, which had contained but 360 days, previous to that correction. The absurdity of the supposition is apparent in the bare consideration that the change was said to have been introduced after 700 revolutions of the *canicular* cycle^m. The epagomenæ were an essential part of that cycle; in the admission that it had been in use for so many centuries, the concession was necessarily made that they had been so long known to the Egyptians. Evidence not only exists that the equable year had been immemorially used by that people; but that a year of such a length, as the astronomical of 360 days, never had a practical existenceⁿ.

As the Egyptians had but the two species of solar year, the civil of 365 days, and the secret of $365\frac{1}{4}$; we are left but the alternative to conclude, that the change introduced in the calendar respected the

¹ Gen. xlv. 20.

^m Syncel. p. 103.

ⁿ The visionary notion of a small canicular cycle is founded on a mistaken notion of the object and use of the astronomical year; see Introd. supr. p. 13. 15. 30. comp. Trans. ut supr. p. 304. -

318. Had there been no other evidence of the truth of this observation, it would be found in the constitution of the cycles of 700 and 36,525 years, of which the equable year was an element: comp. Introd. p. 6. Trans. p. 319. n.¹⁰⁷.

latter. The very doubts which prevailed on the nature of the reformation serve to point out this species of year as the subject of the alteration, and by consequence to reveal its character. As the principle of intercalating the fourth year, which constituted the only difference between the civil and the reformed year, was preserved as a profound secret by the priests^o; such doubts, as gave occasion to the most erroneous suppositions, would necessarily arise respecting its nature. And these inferences are more strongly confirmed, by the consideration of the place where the intercalation must have been made, if it were then adopted. As it was necessarily made at the end of the year, (which would render it liable to be confounded with the epagomenæ, in which it terminated;) in the year B. C. 1711, it would precede the 25th of October. On that day the civil year of the Egyptians, at this time, positively ended; and there is every reason to conclude, that to it the sabbatical cycle of the Israelites, at the same time, was also equated.

On following these suggestions, a clue presents itself by which the intricacies of the subject may be easily unravelled. The precise nature of the reformation, and the year in which it was effected being ascertained; in the coincidence of the commencement of the civil year of the Egyptians, and of the sabbatical cycle of the Israelites, upon Oct. 25, which was the 1st day of the year at the Creation^p; we have sufficient grounds for concluding,—that the reformation of the calendar originated in the project of equating the Egyptian time by the Hebrew. The

^o Vid. *supr.* p. 5.

^p *Trans. ut supr.* p. 302. n. 56. *Bampt. Lect.* p. 392.

coincidences which met, on that most remarkable day of the year, Oct. 25, B. C. 1711, seem to identify this as the true source of the improvement; as they are wholly inexplicable, unless upon this assumption. After the divine manifestation which had been so recently made in favor of the sabbatical division of time, in the seven years of plenty; no exertion of authority, on the part of Joseph, would be necessary to induce the native priests, to reform their calendar, on the same principles as the Hebrew.

Although this assumption derives its main support from the internal evidence, it does not rest exclusively on its authority. That some reformation of the year was introduced under the Dynasty of the Phenicians, by which the close of it was particularly affected, is on all sides admitted. In two passages, Syncellus has undertaken to illustrate the subject; but has left it involved in the incurable errors of his own chronology. On disengaging it from these, we may collect from his words that the change was made under that dynasty, at the close of a cycle of 700 years, of which it would appear that several revolutions had taken place, as computed from the creation of the world^q. Having

^q In transcribing the first of these passages, I shall enclose in brackets, the terms and phrases, with which it has been interpolated by the author; to accommodate it to the erroneous system of the Septuagint Chronology, to which he was notoriously addicted. Chron. p. 103. τοῦ Κυρικοῦ λεγομένου Κύκλου παρὰ τῷ Μανέθῳ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως καὶ οἰκιστοῦ [Μεστραῖμ] τῆς Αἰγύπτου πληροῦν-

ται ἔτη ψ', βασιλέων κέ: τοῦτ' ἔστι ἀπὸ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ [β,ψος'] ἔτους. In conformity to the last observation, the remark is transferred to the reign of Concharis, the 25 in the succession of Syncellus. In directly subjoining to it the following observation he indirectly avows its accommodation to his favorite chronological system: "at which time the Dispersion happened, in

given a list of the shepherd-kings, and particularised Aseth, he ascribes the reformation to him, and declares that it consisted in adding the 5 epagomenæ to the year^r. The passage of Manetho's "Ægyptiaca," from which this information was derived, is preserved by a scholiast on Plato; and it gives a different version of the subject, and such as strictly accords with the canicular cycle; of which 700

the 34th year of the government of Arphaxad, and the 4th of Phaleg." The colonisation of Egypt under "Mesraim," whom Syncellus pronounces the same as Menes, and the date "2776," of the World, exactly correspond with the Septuagint computation. It is particularly deserving of remark, that the interval between the last year of Menes, B. C. 2611, and the 1st of Salatis B. C. 1878, exceeds the computation of Manetho, but 33 years, according to the reduced Chronology. The whole consequently of the above passage which may be strictly ascribed to the Egyptian chronologist is the declaration, that the period of 700 years, computed, by the canicular cycle, from the beginning of the world, ended in a reign which, it appears from note ^s infra, had occurred during the rule of the XVIIth or Phenician Dynasty. The phrase ἀπὸ τοῦ καθολικοῦ κοσμικοῦ ἔτους, belongs to the same chronologist, and properly indicates that primitive epoch. The term καθολικός, as thus used, is astrological, and was applicable to a cycle, computed from the rising of Sirius; vid. Salmas. de Ann. Clim. p.

286. sq. In connexion with κοσμικός, it is properly applied in such a sense, to the nativity of the world: see Trans. ut supr. p. 302. n. ³⁵. Such was obviously understood to be its meaning, by Syncellus; in reckoning, from the epoch which it designates, 2776 years to the 6th of Phaleg; which, there is no doubt, were deduced from the 1st year of the world.

^r Syncellus, in continuation of the subject stated in the preceding note, and after having merely enumerated the kings of the Phenician Dynasty, and mentioned the last king, Aseth; thus observes of him: Οὗτος προσέθηκε τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν τὰς ἐπαγομένας, καὶ ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ, ὥς φασιν ἐχρημάτισεν τξέ' ἡμερῶν, ὁ Αἰγυπτιακὸς ἐνιαυτὸς τξ' μόνον ἡμερῶν πρὸ τούτου μετρούμενος. What is ascribed to the first king, by Manetho, is here ascribed to the last, by Syncellus; who seems to have deferred the observation, from the commencement to the close of the Dynasty, to make room for his own remark on the synchronisms which occurred in the year 2776 of the world, according to his chronology.

years had already elapsed, according to the admission of Syncellus. It distinctly asserts that the change which was effected, under the shepherds, consisted in the addition of "12 hours to the month, so that it amounted to 30 days, and of 6 days to the year," which could only be effected by such an intercalation as the Julian^s.

Some light may, it is presumed, be thrown on this obscure subject, by an investigation of the nature and epoch of the cycle of 700 years, on which the reformation was effected. When the period is resolved into its elements, it proves to be a lunisolar cycle, no less Hebrew than Egyptian in its composition. The solar element is accordingly found to be the common cycle of 28 years, by which the Jews equated their sabbatical periods; and the lunar to be the common cycle of 25 years, by which the

^s In addition to the facts imparted by Africanus respecting the Shepherds, the following disclosure is made by the scholiast; who quotes as his authority, the *Ægyptiaca* of Manetho. After mentioning Aphophis, and without taking any notice of Aseth, he directly adds; *ὁ δὲ Σαΐτης προσέθηκε τῷ μηνὶ ὥρας ιβ', ὡς εἶναι ἡμερῶν λ', καὶ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ἡμέρας 5, καὶ γέγονεν ἡμερῶν τξεί'.* Schol. Plat. p. 425. Bekker. Saïtes is represented as the first king of the Dynasty, by this writer, as well as by Africanus and Eusebius: to whom Josephus, citing Manetho, gives the name of Salatis. In place of this concluding remark, Eusebius, associating Joseph with the time of

the change, closes his account of the Dynasty with this observation; *Κατὰ τούτους Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Ἰωσήφ δαίκνυται*: where the reading of *βασιλεὺς*, for *βασιλείς*, which is undoubtedly correct, appears to be as ancient as Jerome. He thus translates the preceding passage: "Horum tempore, ut imperaret Ægyptiis, Joseph apparuit." With greater precision, Syncellus specifies the reign; *ἐπεὶ γὰρ πᾶσι συμπεφώνηται ὅτι ἐπὶ Ἀφώφεως ἦρξεν Ἰωσήφ τῆς Αἰγύπτου.* These declarations, it will be remembered, have proceeded from persons, who manifest no disposition to impute the reformation of the Calendar to Joseph.

Egyptians computed the monthly conjunctions. If either of these short periods be taken as the divisor of the great cycle, the quotient is found to be equal to the other; thus proving that it is formed of their product; as is evident in this equation, $28 \times 25 = 700$. As in this period, the lesser cycles of both nations were necessarily equated; on taking that of 28 years, which was used by the Jews, as the standard according to which the irregularities in the Egyptian computations might be corrected: this reformation might be effected on a strictly sabbatical principle.

In order to discover how this might be accomplished, it should be observed; that the cycle used by the Hebrews was equated; but that of the Egyptians was vague and ambulatory. While, consequently, the civil year of the latter retrograded through the seasons, from the loss of 1 day every four years: the retrocession of the sabbatical years was obviated, by the intercalation of a week at the end of the 28th year, or fourth sabbatical cycle^t. By this process the beginning of every cycle of that length preserved its place in the fixed year, which was equivalent to the Julian. And if the principle was observed, as there is reason to suppose it was, from the first, and as we have evidence for concluding it was at the Deluge^u; each cycle would commence from the day on which the first cycle began, when the sabbath was instituted, at the Creation. The year having, at that time, commenced with the autumnal season, which began at the equinox; it was necessarily reckoned from the day of the equi-

^t Vid. Trans. ut supr. p. 312.

^u Vid. ibid. p. 4. n. 4.

nox, which, in the year B. C. 4004, was the 25th of October^v.

The object, aimed at, in the reformation of the civil year of the Egyptians, was thus naturally suggested by that effected in the intercalation of the sabbatical cycle. The ordinary year of both nations was precisely of the same length; but the retrocession of the Egyptian was to be corrected, by bringing back its beginning to Oct. 25. by the application of an intercalation. And as this equation of the year was necessarily applied to the end of it; and, of course, preceded Thoth 1st, which fell upon Oct. 25, B. C. 1711: it may be easily shown, how it naturally arose from the use of the lunisolar period, and at the precise crisis of the conversion of the cycle of 700 years, from the Creation.

By the use of such a cycle, as deduced from a known epoch, two or three important objects were at all times easily attainable, by the simplest process of reckoning. By subducting it, from a given year, as often as was practicable; a remainder was left which, when again divided by 28, its solar, or 25, its lunar elements, would give, in the last remainder, the year of the lesser component cycle which was current. Thus, on rejecting from the year A. M. 2293, B. C. 1711, the period of 700 years, three times; a remainder of 193 was left; which when divided by 28, left the remainder 25, expressing the current year of the solar cycle; and when divided by 25, left the remainder 18, expressing the current year of the lunar. From a knowledge of the characters of these years of each cycle, the place or age of the

^v Vid. *ibid.* p. 302. n. 56.

two luminaries whose course they measured might be ascertained; which in a great year, of the magnitude of the Egyptian, was an object of no small importance to the computer. From knowing that of the solar year, with which I am immediately concerned, as on it the intercalation depended; it was directly perceived that in the 25th year of the cycle, which was current B. C. 1711, the beginning of the sabbatical year, in retrograding 1 day in four years, had, in so many years, fallen back 6 days from the fixed equinox. By the very circumstances of the case, the required object was consequently suggested. For of so many days precisely, when taken together, the epagomenæ and intercalation consisted. On adding these 6 days to the last month of the civil year, after the manner observed in equating the sabbatical cycle, its beginning was brought back to the fixed equinox. The precedent, consequently, was thenceforth established; after which, 6 days, instead of 5, were added to each fourth year of the cycle; and as the first experiment was sufficient to prove,—its further retrocession might be consequently prevented.

From the simplicity of this contrivance, for equating the solar year, with which mankind were so far contented that science applied no correction to it, until the sixteenth century of our era, when the new style was introduced; we may be prompted to conclude that it was attained by a readier course, than is implied in the preceding description. But if we take into account, the difficulty with which minute divisions of time were obtained, in those rude ages, when the use of astronomical instruments was unknown; we shall be led to acknowledge that

it must have been rather acquired by a slow process. From the want of means to appreciate smaller intervals of time, no notice was likely to be taken of them, in measuring its course; until they attained an extent, by continued accumulation. In equating the sabbatical years, they were neglected, until they amounted to a week, as altogether insignificant. And notwithstanding the industry with which the Chaldeans applied themselves to such subjects, and the extraordinary discoveries which they made in astronomy; they were not appreciated until they amounted to three days, with which their cycle of 12 years was intercalated^w. But though the Jews, on their return from the captivity, imported this period, and incorporated it with the sabbatical; as an element in their lunar cycle of 84 years^x: they made no other use of it, than in the construction of those cycles, which were properly paschal. In the equation of solar time, an intercalation of 3 days, was wholly useless; as dividing the week, it would have deranged the order of the sabbatical succession. But among the Egyptians, no obstacle opposed the adoption of an intercalation even of a day; and the revolution of the small canicular cycle, as depending on the rising of Sirius, most probably facilitated its introduction.

It admits not of a doubt that the use of the bissextile year originated with the Egyptians; from

^w The Chaldees intercalated so many days, at once, in their genethliacal cycle: vid. Trans. ut supr. p. 46. n. 164. But though the knowledge of it might have been preserved in the family of Abraham; it cannot be supposed

to have suggested the notion of a quadriennial intercalation to the Egyptians, which it had not suggested to the Chaldeans.

^x Vid. Trans. ut supr. p. 46. comp. Warburt. Lect. ut supr. p. 493.

whom, at a late period, it was adopted by the Romans^y. And they have transmitted no account of it, if the few scattered notices be rejected, on which the preceding explanation is founded^z. If that explanation be admitted, which is sustained by the internal consistency of a case, of unusual complexity; every difficulty in those notices directly vanishes. A sufficient account is thus rendered, not only of the improvement which was introduced in the equation of time; but of the circumstances and person, under whom it was adopted. How it took place in a particular year, or time of the year, and was declared to have been effected, by some change in the epagomenæ, by the application of a particular cycle, has been fully explained and verified. And whatever doubts may still exist, respecting the author of so important a reformation in the calendar; it will be at least allowed, that had it been introduced by Joseph, who is generally identified with Hermes, its

^y Trans. p. 9. and n.

^z The statement of Manetho, as preserved by the scholiast, cited supr. p. 410. n. ^s. has been, indeed, denounced as incorrect, and has been accordingly *amended* after the usual fashion of the critics, ε being substituted, for ς, after ἡμέρας. v. Böckh. ut supr. p. 457. 617. The plea, by which the contradiction which consequently arises, (vid. supr. p. 406.) would be evaded, has been already disposed of; supr. p. 406. n. ⁿ. It seems also to have been overlooked, that the intercalation was a secret and could be only equivocally disclosed; Trans. ut supr.

p. 9. n. ²³. conf. Strab. lib. xvii. p. 816. c. 806. c. The statement of Manetho, though ambiguous, is not contradictory, as both clauses of the sentence are true; 6 days being added to 1 year alone, out of the cycle of four, while the remaining 3 continued as previously. Whether the conjunction, καί, by which the clauses are connected, partake of the intentional ambiguity of the sentence, and have the force of καὶν, is a subject, on which, however worthy of the attention of the verbal critic, I shall not waste a moment's consideration.

professed author; it is not easy to conceive, at what time and in what manner, it could have occurred with equal fitness or probability.

2. But besides this reformation, which gave rise to an equated year; the equable year, which was still retained in civil use, underwent a considerable change, which was equally ascribed to the person named Hermes. Under him the calendar, by which the dates of remarkable events were affixed to public monuments, received, if not its last, its principal corrections: the first month of the year having been accordingly called after his name, in the same manner as July, at a later period, took its name from Julius Cesar, the last reformer^a. Among the Egyptians the calendar was distributed into seasons, adopted from the natural division of the year and its occupations. A criterion is thus fixed, by which the epoch may be accurately determined, to which it was adapted; from the choice of which, no slight illustration is derived, in enabling us to determine its author. For, in consequence of the ambulatory nature of the civil year, and its constant retrocession; there were not above four years, in the great cycle of 1461 years, through which it retrograded, in which the months in the calendar corresponded with the order of the seasons^b. As the calendar, internally considered, furnishes sufficient data for determining these, it leads us by necessary consequence to a knowledge of the epoch. In the characters which it displays, the person by whom it was chosen, and the calendar was consequently constructed, seem to be clearly indicated.

^a Trans. ut supr. p. 305.

^b Vid. supr. p. 230. et n.

This construction of the calendar, as already intimated, is ascribed to the person by whom the secret or equated year was instituted. It might be thence naturally concluded that they exhibited internally some conformity, as to the principles at least on which they were amended. This presumption is verified to an extraordinary degree by experiments. The epoch from whence the current lunisolar cycle was deduced,—according to which the equated year was instituted,—proves, in fact, to be that, by which the seasons were ordered, in constructing the calendar. In the revolutions of that great cycle, there were but two years, which could be taken as pivots, in constructing a calendar; namely, those in which the beginning of the civil and natural coincided, and when it made its conversion, by commencing a new revolution. To the last of these the choice of the constructor was necessarily confined; as in coming nearer to his own times it exhibited the seasons, according to which his calendar was to be arranged, in a state much nearer to what was observable in nature. This will be readily admitted, on considering, that after one revolution of 700 years, at the rate of 1 day in 4 years, the seasons in the calendar would precede those of the natural year, 175 days; and after two revolutions, though that distance would be doubled, they would have nearly recovered their original position, and conformed to the order of nature. Added to this, on the supposition, that the calendar was corrected in the year B. C. 1711, as the age of the corrector, whether reckoned by the sacred or profane chronology, compels us to suppose; the 194th year of the lunisolar cycle, as we formerly observed, was then current, which was necessarily

numbered as such, as it was computed from the *last* epoch^c. On taking 193 complete years in ascent, from that date; we arrive at the year B. C. 1904, as the epoch, to the seasons of which the calendar was adapted.

On knowing the day of the Julian year anticipated, on which the civil neomenia, or new year's day of the Egyptians occurred; the months and seasons of their calendar for that year may be distributed, without the chance of error. Their year was divided into 12 months, each of which consisted of 30 days; 5 days being subjoined to the last, under the name of epagomenæ. These months were distributed into 3 seasons, each consisting of 4 months; to which respectively they gave the name of the vegetating, the housing and the water season; having distinguished them by a significant hieroglyphic^e. As we certainly know that in the year J. P. 2810 B. C. 1904, the neomenia, or Thoth 1st occurred on Dec. 12th, the Egyptian calendar for that year necessarily had its months and seasons ordered in the following manner:

SEASONS.

VEGETATION.		HOUSING.		WATER.	
Thoth	Dec. 12	Tybi	..... Apr. 11	Pachon	Aug. 9
Paophi	Jan. 11	Mechir	.... May 11	Payni	Sept. 8
Athyr	Feb. 10	Phamenoth	Jun. 10	Epiphi	Oct. 8
Chœac	Mar. 12	Pharmuthi	Jul. 10	Mesore	Nov. 7
		Epagomenæ		Dec. 7—11	

It may be assumed, as a postulate not to be questioned, that the epoch to which the preceding scale

^c Conf. supr. p. 412.

cap. 13. p. 378.

^d Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. vii.

^e Champol. Dict. p. 16.

was adapted, was that in which the seasons into which it is divided, corresponded with those of the natural year. By the natural is necessarily meant the tropical year, in which, the division of the days into seasons depends on the time of the sun's entrance into the tropes: and in the year B. C. 1904 when Thoth 1st corresponded with Dec. 12th, it appears, on calculation, that the vernal equinox occurred on April 6th, the autumnal on Oct. 9th. As this crisis is marked in the Egyptian calendar by a decisive character, we are thus furnished with adequate data for proving that the order of the seasons, in the above scale, corresponded with that which, in the forementioned year, B. C. 1904, was observed by nature.

The arrangement of the agricultural year in Egypt, to which the above scale is adapted, depended on the increase and subsiding of the Nile, which, as originating in the tropical rains that fall in Nubia, has a permanent and regular cause in nature. According to the experience of antecedent and present times, it is found that no considerable impression is made upon the river, by those rains, until the summer solstice; and that under their influence it acquires its greatest height at the autumnal equinox^f. This time, which was awaited in Egypt, with the utmost anxiety,—the productiveness or scantiness of the year depending on the degree of its elevation,—is distinctly marked in the calendar by the middle of the water season, or 1st of the month Epiphi. As this day corresponded with Oct. 8th, and the equinox happened on the 9th: the correspondence determines, almost to demonstration, the epoch at

^f Vid. supr. p. 103.

which the calendar was constructed. For the difference of a single day must be regarded as wholly insignificant; as neither the precise time of the sun's entrance into the equinox, or of the river's attaining its greatest elevation, could be determined, particularly in those early times, with greater precision.

If we include, among the characters which thus met in the year B. C. 1904,—from which the ambulatory calendar takes its epoch,—the consideration of its forming the epoch of the lunisolar period of 700 years, by which the calendar was corrected; we must ascend to a time, antecedent even to that of the Egyptian Chronology, for a year in which those characters can be again identified. After that date, the seasons of the calendar continued to deviate more widely from those of the natural year; until in that B. C. 1711, when it was reformed, the difference between them amounted to 48 days: Epiphi 1st having, at that time, anticipated, by so many days, the autumnal equinox.

Yet along with those coincidences, which can hardly be deemed accidental, one even more extraordinary must be included; which seems to point out, more distinctly, than the other characters of the year B. C. 1711, the person to whose influence they must be imputed. To Joseph, the epoch which was thus selected must have recommended itself by associations, which could be found in no other, whatever might be the ground on which it was chosen. That of the Peregrination, by which the period of the bondage in Egypt was defined, was of exclusive, though of intense, interest to the Israelites. But the era which commenced with the year B. C. 1904 was of still higher interest, not only to the Israelites

and to the Egyptians, but to all mankind. It can be therefore no matter of surprise, if Joseph be supposed to have had any influence in reforming the calendar, that the order of time should be deduced from this epoch.

It cannot be supposed, that Joseph was unconscious, the preceding year was that distinguished by the visit of the three angels to his great grandfather at Mamre; which gave him intimation of the seed, through whom the inheritance of the world was promised to Abraham^ε. And as the intimation thus given, was fulfilled in the birth of his grandfather Isaac, the following year; it is as little wonderful that it should be taken as the epoch of a new era; the course of time having been computed, from time immemorial, by the lives of the patriarchs. In the sacred and profane views adopted on these subjects, there was besides an analogy, which, as probably derived from the same traditional source, facilitated the incorporation of the dates, thus externally derived, in the native chronology. The expectation of a Great Restitution, was not only common to both Hebrews and Egyptians; but was looked for by both, as destined to occur after a revolution of ages. The choice of an epoch, for the Great Year, by the revolution of which, the order of nature would be restored,—on the seasons recovering their place in the year,—could not have been more judiciously made, than in that on which it appears to have positively fallen.

^ε Gen. xviii. 1. 10. 18. The promise thus given to Abraham, was fulfilled when he was 100 years old; Gen. xxi. 1. 2. 5. which must have occurred A. M.

2100. B. C. 1904; if it be admitted that he was born, A. M. 2000. B. C. 2004: vid. supr. p. 403. n. ^c. comp. Warb. Lect. loc. cit.

Those who may entertain doubts as to the cause or author of the correction of the calendar, in which these objects were attained, must admit, from its inapplicability to agricultural uses,—from which notwithstanding it was originally deduced,—that the commencement and close of it must have been principally considered in its reformation. For the derangements in the order of nature, which the retrocession of its seasons in the year necessarily occasioned, were solely rectified at either extreme of the period of its revolution. And however it must be allowed the computer was deceived in his anticipations of the end of it; in his adjustment of its commencement, as fixed in the year B. C. 1904, he exhibits that judgment or address, for which it seems impossible to account, if the notion of Joseph's influence be rejected, at a time when we are assured it was at the highest.

If the exertion of such influence be, on the other hand, admitted, there is nothing to excite our wonder in the coincidences which have been recently pointed out, or in those which were formerly noticed, in the antediluvian period. They would necessarily arise from the communication of those facts which the patriarch must have acquired from tradition, as faithfully preserved in the family of his father Jacob. And it is deserving of remark, that notwithstanding the confusion of names and persons, the pagans have implicitly admitted in their account of the channels through which their information was derived, that such was the source, from whence it reached them. From their statements it may be collected, that they received it from a foreigner and a Syrian^h, the re-

^h Bampt. Lect. ut supr. p. 485.

former of their calendar, who presided over their country ; and professed to have had the earliest information from his ancestors, who lived before the Deluge. In the nature of the acquirement itself, the evidence is sufficiently strong to be conclusive, as to the person, from whom they derived their knowledge. In the coincidences which have been pointed out the profane chronology receives, from the sacred, that confirmation, which it is the main object of this inquiry to elicit and establish.

SECT. IV.

Conformity of the traditions, preserved by the Egyptians of Moses, to Scripture; particularly as the Deliverer of the Hebrews.

To the mere accident of a dynasty of Phenicians having ruled in Egypt, Joseph was doubtless indebted for the high rank which he attained in that country. When the throne was again occupied by a native sovereign, the advantages which the Hebrews had derived from his elevation necessarily ceased with the decline of his influence. But a short period, however, had elapsed after his death, when his compatriots, to whom he had allotted settlements, suited to their pastoral habits and occupations, shared the enmity which had been provoked by a nation of foreign usurpers, with whom they were confounded, as having come to Egypt from the same country. They were suffered to remain, in the district which they had been allotted, on the severe terms of laboring in the public works, for which the Theban sovereigns, who had reduced them to slavery, have been distinguished above all the monarchs of that country. The XVIIIth Dynasty, to which they belonged, have been already mentioned^a, as having left monuments behind them, which surpass in number and execution, all that yet remains, in that country of architectural wonders.

The sacred chronology in dating this great change in the fortunes of the Israelites, from the birth of Moses^b, have rather marked the time of its height.

^a See p. 202.

^b Exod. 2. 8, 9, 10, 11, 2, 3.

than that of its commencement. Under Amosis, who ascended the throne B. C. 1624, the period of their oppression may be supposed to have begun. In the hostilities which this king carried on against the foreign dynasty, which were stigmatized with the reproachful name of captive-shepherds, they were likely to be sufferers, as liable to be confounded with a people who, like themselves, were Phenicians by origin. The error seems to have thus arisen, by which the historian Josephus was misled, that under this monarch, his countrymen had departed from Egypt, with Moses. Not until it had been freed from these usurpers, did the period of their bondage commence; when their continuance in the country was purchased, on the hard terms of preferring slavery to banishment^c.

As Moses was born in the year B. C. 1572^d, if the time of the severe oppression of the Hebrews, be dated from that of his birth; the king under whom they were oppressed must have been Amenophis I, who, according to the present chronology, ascended the throne B. C. 1581^e. As above sixty years had elapsed from the death of Joseph to the accession of this king, and above seventy to the birth of Moses; he seems to be distinctly pointed out, in the description given by scripture of the Pharaoh, who increased the burdens of the Israelites^f. It must be concluded of him, that "he knew not Joseph;" and that, in that time, the generation had passed away which had been witnesses of the patri-

^c Vid. *supr.* p. 224. comp. p. 84.

^d The Exodus took place in the year B. C. 1492; *vid. Trans. ut supr.* p. 333. comp. *Warb. Lect.* p. 347. Moses having been then

80 years of age, *Exod.* vii. 7: must have been born B. C. 1572.

^e Vid. *supr.* p. 180.

^f *Exod.* i. 8.

arch's rank and labors, under Apophis^g. Nearly a century had elapsed from the time of his retirement from public life, on the death of this king, and the birth of Moses. On the introduction of new objects and interests, with a new dynasty, B. C. 1624, under Amosis^h; the memory of his works and character was necessarily superseded and forgotten.

This brief sketch of the existing state, and antecedent revolutions, in the dynasties of Egypt, at the birth of Moses, is sufficient to prove their strict conformity to the few notices respecting them which appear in the sacred annals. But to form a just estimate of the coincidences between the Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology, at the same period, it is necessary to exhibit, confronted with each other, the dates of the principal events in Moses's life, with the correspondent years in the reigns of contemporary sovereigns. For the purposes of the present inquiry they may be limited to the following :

	B. C.		B. C.
Moses born	1572	Amenophis, 10th year	1572
— is 12 years of age ...	1560	Amense, 1st year ...	1560
— is 34 years of age ...	1538	———— last year ...	1538
— flies Egypt when 40	1532	Mœris, 7th year	1532
— departs with the } Israelites, when 80 }	1492	Thothmes IV, last yr.	1492

As in the antecedent case of Joseph, it may be observed of these dates, that nothing can better accord with the relation in which Moses is represented in Scripture as having been placed, while he remained in Egypt. Of the kings who are here enumerated, Amenophis appears, from the compa-

^g Vid. supr. p. 403.

^h Ibid. p. 180.

ri son, to have been the Pharaoh, under whom the heavy bondage of the Israelites commenced; and Thothmes IV, who was entitled Mennito, or "Support of the worlds," appears to be the Pharaoh, under whom their liberation was effected. Mention has been already made of himⁱ, and of Amenophis and Amense, the son and daughter of Amosis^j, to whom Thothmes succeeded, in consequence of their having died without issue^k. This prince, whom Amense adopted, was termed Mento, "Support of the world," and was the grandfather of Thothmes IV, surnamed Mennito^m, whose death is here referred to the year of the Exodus^o. The coincidence still further identifies him with the Pharaoh, who perished in the Red Sea, the vain attempt to intercept the Israelites, in their departure from Egypt, having been providentially frustrated by his destruction.

It would be necessary to enter into minute details, to give the preceding coincidences their full effect, in establishing the accuracy of the present system of Chronology. Although they receive illustration and force from the historical and monumental remains of this ancient nation; my immediate purpose and limits forbid my entering into these inquiries. Con-

ⁱ The identification of this king, by the name on his shield, is among the first and most happy of the discoveries of the inimitable Champollion. After giving an ingenious analysis of the hieroglyphics which compose it; he thus concludes; Précis, p. 241. "La transcription de ce nom entier en lettres coptes donne ΘΩΟΥΤΜΕC (Thoutms): c'est évidemment le nom propre hiero-

glyphique du roi que Manéthon nomme ΤΟΥΘΜΟΣΙΣ, ou ΤΟΥΘ-ΜΩΣΙΣ: c'est celui qui délivra l'Egypte du ravage des Pasteurs, et chassa ces-étrangers au-delà des frontières de la Syrie." Comp. supr. p. 224.

^j Vid. supr. p. 297. comp. p. 289.

^k Ibid. p. 291. n.v.

^m Ibid. p. 278. et n.v.

^o Ibid. p. 224.

fining myself to such proofs, as are strictly chronological, I shall therefore offer such observations alone, on the preceding dates, as are necessary to substantiate the conclusion, which is the end and object of this disquisition.

One of the strongest proofs that the princess, named Amense, whose reign extended from the 12th to the 34th year of Moses, was the Pharaoh's daughter, by whom he was saved and patronised, arises from the consideration of the insurmountable difficulties with which the account of his Egyptian education is embarrassed, if the notion of the identity of those princesses is rejected. It is otherwise inexplicable, how he could have been versed "in all the learning of the Egyptians^p," which must have been acquired, in the intermediate years of his life, and which was only to be acquired through the authority of the reigning monarch. For we know that all approach to their mystic lore, was closed against strangers; to whom, nothing short of the absolute authority of the sovereign could compel the priests to throw it open^q.

On the assumption of those princesses being identical, not only the preceding difficulty disappears; but every other difficulty in the account of the princess and her ward, which is preserved on native monuments, or inserted in the sacred records. I have elsewhere undertaken to prove them the same person^r, from an examination of the monuments, which appear, from the inscriptions upon them, to have been erected in the reign of Amense. The

^p Acts vii. 22.

^q Porphy. de vit. Pythag. p. 12. conf. Plut. de Isid. cap. x. p. 354.

^r Conf. supr. p. 278. n.^w.

investigation terminated in eliciting such evidence of her religious opinions, as left no reasonable ground for doubt, on her personal identity. The hostility, with which those monuments were treated by her successor, by whom they were obliterated and effaced^s, was thus traced to a probable motive; and other difficulties in her history were satisfactorily explained, which had involved the antiquaries, who undertook to remove them, in hopeless contradiction.

There is not a circumstance, on the contrary, which is related of Pharaoh's daughter which may not be verified in the short account which we have received of Amense. Even to her latest years, this Egyptian queen appears to have been distinguished by the title, which she exclusively receives from Moses^t. On an obelisk, which was raised by her at Thebes, and which is one of the most splendid of the monuments which attest her taste and munificence as a patroness of the arts, she is repeatedly termed "Pharaoh's daughter^u." When she recovered Moses from the Nile, she must have arrived at maturity, from the attendants with which it appears she was then surrounded: but nine years had at that time elapsed from the death of her father, under whom that title, which is equivalent to "Princess," was acquired, which had become by this time fixed by custom. The circumstances which led to the choice of Mœris, as her successor, have been already noticed. While his adoption to the throne proves that she had no child to succeed

^s Champol. Lett. xviii. ut supr.
p. 331.

^t Exod. ii. 5.

^u Rosellin, Mon. Stor. tom. iii.
pt. 1. p. 135. 158.

her^v; it verifies the account of her having been prevented from nominating Moses to that honor, solely through his disinclination to become her successor^w. The preference thus shown to him, above Mœris, his competitor for the throne, will serve to account for the disrespect, manifested by that prince to her memory, and which was principally directed against those monuments, which possessed records of her superiority to the errors of the national superstition^x. As she imbibed purer religious notions from her Hebrew ward, the difference in her opinions must have still further exasperated a prince, whom she had alienated by her preference for a rival and an alien.

I have already noticed the facilities afforded Moses, during the whole of Amense's reign, from the time of his attaining the age of twelve to his reaching thirty-four, to acquire a knowledge of the learning and religion of the Egyptians. Of his acquaintance with them, he has left unquestionable evidence in the code which he promulgated, and which exhibits a studied opposition to many of their rites and ceremonies^y. In little more than six years, from the death of the queen, his patroness, he was compelled to fly from Egypt; his life having been

^v Exod. ii. 10. conf. supr. p. 293.

^w Heb. xi. 24. comp. Exod. ibid.

^x In the unedited work, referred to supr. p. 278. n.^w. these points are established by a full induction of monumental evidence.

^y With this antagonism the ancients appear to have been par-

ticularly struck: vid. Diodor. Ecl. l. p. 901. Tacit. Hist. lib. v. cap. 3. On some of the leading points of opposition, the second book of Dr. Spencer's work *De Legib. Hebr.* contains a learned commentary: and has the additional merit of being free from the bias, which warped the author's opinions on the Mosaic Dispensation.

menaced by her successor^z, who, as his early competitor for the throne, had manifested a hostile spirit to the memory of his royal mistress. Whatever might have been the provocation or palliation of his offence; it is plain he had no hopes from the mercy of a king who had sentenced him to death, on the bare report of his criminality^a. This circumstance may be mentioned, as it authenticates, by its consistency and verisimilitude, the notices respecting the early life of Moses, which have reached us from pagan sources.

It is, indeed, apparent, from evidence which ranges as high as this monarch, that during his reign, the oppression of the Israelites was continued, with unabated rigor. The extraordinary public works, dispersed through every part of Egypt, for which it is distinguished^b, would render it probable, that the Hebrew captives were employed in erecting them, were not the fact attested by contemporary monuments. At Thebes, the tomb of a superintendent of those works, named Roshere, has been excavated^c; who held the office under that monarch, and has left depicted on the walls of his sepulchre, the plainest evidence, that they were compelled to labor in them, under taskmasters, who were armed with the means of enforcing obedience to their directions. The brick

^z Exod. ii. 15.

^a Ibid.

^b Canina, Archit. p. 60. ut supr.

^c Rosellin. Mon. Civ. tom. ii. pt. i. p. 254. Discredit has been thrown on the evidence, deduced from this monument, in consequence of its having been found at Thebes. Why a taskmaster, who had discharged his office in

Lower Egypt, might not have ended his days and found a tomb in the upper country, is not very conceivable. But the assumption on which the objection is obviously raised,—that the Hebrews were only compelled to labor in the former country,—is destitute of all foundation. Exod. v. 12.

fields, in which they are depicted as working, are filled with the produce of their labor, and they graphically describe the manner in which it was executed^d. In their countenances, they exhibit those national characters, which prove that Providence intended, from the first, they should be marked as a distinct race, no less in their appearance, than their religion and customs. They who have seen the original, affirm it to be impossible to mistake that the picture was intended to represent Hebrews; and those who have but inspected the copy must admit, that it so far gives evidence of its fidelity, as it preserves the imputed likeness.

Before I take leave of this interesting monument, from which Prof. Heeren foresaw that light would be thrown, on the antiquities of Egypt^e; it may not be deemed out of place, to insist upon its use in determining the Pharaoh, among the sovereigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty, who opposed the mission of Moses and Aaron, at the time of the Exodus. A prince, named Amenophis, having had some share in the merit of freeing the land, from its Phenician invaders^f; the pursuit of the Israelites, which the native historians represented as an expulsion, has been variously ascribed to three princes so named, who respectively reigned at the beginning, middle and close of that dynasty^g. The pretensions of two of them, however, may be disposed of, by the testimony of this ancient painting, which as executed in

^d Rosel. Mon. Civ. pl. xlix.

^e Heeren, Götting. Anzeig. 1835. p. 328.

^f Conf. supr. p. 224. n. ^k. p. 231. n. ^m.

^g Conf. supr. p. 180. where these monarchs are numbered as the 3rd, 8th and 17th in the succession.

the middle of the period for which they reigned, directs us to the time when the monarch lived, who engaged in that enterprise. With respect to the first king, named Amenophis, he must be set out of the question, on its express authority. As it appears from it, that under Mœris the Israelites were still engaged in the labors of the brick-field: it is impossible they could have taken their departure, under any prince, who was his predecessor, like Amenophis. Nor can the claims of the last prince of the name, be sustained in consistency with the age ascribed to Moses, at the time when he conducted the expedition from Egypt, and freed his countrymen from their oppression. But 80 years had elapsed from the severe oppression of the Israelites, to the time of their deliverance; Moses having been born at the one time, and having reached that age at the other^h. Although the date of the painting, which describes their labors in the brick-field, in some part of the intervening period, be brought down to the last year of Mœris, under whose officer they were oppressed; that time falls far short of the interval of 200 years, which must have elapsed between the death of that prince and the accession of the last Amenophisⁱ. We are therefore left no alternative, but to suppose the times of the intermediate prince of that name are alluded to; who, in the year of the Exodus, ascended the throne which had been vacated by the fall of his predecessor, with whom he was easily confounded. For the disastrous termination of that expedition having been suppressed, or represented as a fortunate riddance of the land, from the foreign-

^h Vid. supr. p. 425. n. d. comp. Exod. i. 9. 11. 16. 22. ii. 2. 10. vii. 7.

ⁱ Conf. supr. p. 180.

ers; the prince, named Amenophis, who survived it, and retained possession of the throne, acquired some share in the glory of having effected its deliverance^j.

2. As Amenophis immediately follows Thothmes IV, in the succession of Egyptian monarchs; by the mere identification of the accession of the former, with the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1492^k; the latter is proved to be the Pharaoh, who perished in the Red Sea, while engaged in pursuing the Israelites. And every notice which has reached us, respecting this king, brings confirmation to the truth of this conclusion. The decyphering of his name, as preserved on the Lateran obelisk, has been already noticed, as among the earliest and happiest of the essays of the inimitable Champollion. His exposition of it, as then observed, closes with the declaration, that “it was he who delivered the interior of Egypt from the ravages of the Shepherds, and chased the foreigners beyond the frontiers of Syria^l.” I have already observed, that the Hebrew settlers under Joseph, are uniformly confounded with these usurpers, as derived from the same country, and using the same customs and language. That the land had been freed from them, under Amosis, not only appears from historical but chronological records; the transfer of the sovereign authority, from a Phenician to a Theban dynasty, being distinctly marked, and declared to have occurred under this monarch, above a century before the accession of Thothmes. Under this monarch, who is determined, by the place assigned him, in the Theban succession, between Mephra Thothmes and Amenophis, the de-

^j See Trans. p. 333. n. 164. ut
supr. conf. supr. p. 224. n. ^k.

^k Vid. supr. p. 180.

^l Conf. supr. p. 427. n. ⁱ.

liverance of the country from the last of the foreigners, as the Israelites were considered, was supposed to have been effected^m. Such was the view which it suited the national vanity of Josephus, if not Manetho, and the authorities whom he followed, to give of the emancipation of the Hebrews under Moses. The Pharaoh who then ruled, as appears from the monuments which he erected to record his achievements, had chiefly applied himself to military tacticsⁿ. While Mœris had principally devoted himself to the cultivation of the arts of peace, in which he had employed the services of the Hebrews; under his son Mephra Thothmes, and his grandson Thothmes Mennito, the Egyptians distinguished themselves as a military nation. The last of these kings had placed that confidence in the number and discipline of his forces, which proved fatal to him, when he pursued the Israelites, whom he had suffered to depart, with the intention of executing more signal vengeance upon the fugitives.

The account which Manetho has given of the departure of the Shepherds under this king, whom he distinguishes no less by his name, than by the name of his father, agrees so circumstantially with the narrative of the Exodus, by the sacred historian, that it seems extraordinary, any doubt should have arisen, on the identity of the Pharaoh who conducted the expedition against the Israelites, on their leaving the country. In one instance alone it is exaggerated, or misrepresented; the source of which may be detected in the national prejudice of the historian. The unsuccessful attempt of the king to intercept

^m Conf. *ibid.* p. 224. 231.

ⁿ Conf. *supr.* p. 343. n. ^q.

and surround the Hebrews, and “entangle them in the land,” is converted into a project to besiege them in a fortified city. In the description which follows this misstatement, or oversight, in which the Israelites appear to be confounded with their Phenician predecessors; the distinction between them is so decisively marked, as to remove all ground of doubt or misapprehension of the author’s meaning. “But^o when he had abandoned the siege, he entered into a compact, that they should all leave Egypt, and depart unmolested wherever they pleased. And according to this agreement, they quitted Egypt with their household and effects, being 240,000 souls, and bent their way, through the desert, to Syria. And as they feared the Assyrians, who then held the dominion of Asia, they built a city in Judea, which was sufficient to contain so great a number of men, and called it Jerusalem.” Of the discomfiture or

^o Maneth. ap. Joseph. ut supr. p. 1040. e. Τὸν δὲ Μισφραγμου-
θωσέως υἱὸν Θούμμωσιν . . . ἐπεὶ
τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπέγνω, ποιήσασθαι
συμβάσεις, ἵνα τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐκ-
λιπόντες ὅπη βούλοντο πάντες
ἀβλαβεῖς ἀπέλθωσι. Τοὺς δὲ ἐπὶ
ταῖς ὁμολογίαις πανοικεσία μετὰ
τῶν κτήσεων οὐκ ἐλάττους μυριά-
δων ὄντας εἴκοσι καὶ τεσσάρων ἀπὸ
τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἔρημον εἰς Συρίαν
ᾠδοπορῆσαι φοβούμενους δὲ τὴν
Ἀσσυρίων δυναστείαν, τότε γὰρ
ἐκείνους τῆς Ἀσίας κρατεῖν, ἐν τῇ
νῦν Ἰουδαίᾳ καλουμένη πόλιν οἰκο-
δομησαμένους, τοσαύταις μυριάσιν
ἀνθρώπων ἀρκεσοῦσαν Ἱεροσόλυμα
ταύτην ὀνομάσαι. From the sub-
ject thus circumstantially de-

scribed, the Jewish historian con-
trives to divert the reader’s atten-
tion, by a direct transition to
“another book of the *Ægyptiaca*”
of Manetho; in which, as appears
from the context, the succession
of the Phœnician kings was de-
scribed, who held Egypt in sub-
jection. Having thus dexterously
passed, from the departure of the
Hebrews under Thothmes, to the
expulsion of the Phenicians by
Amosis; he laid the foundation
of that confusion of two events,
which occurred at the distance of
127 years from each other, by
which the moderns have suffered
themselves to be misled: comp.
supr. p. 84. 224.

death of Pharaoh, he takes no notice; but his silence needs no explanation^p.

I have already had occasion to speak of the Sphinx, as dedicated by this Pharaoh; and to point out the object of its erection, as probably meant to mark the period of the Great Restitution^q. The extraordinary date of its consecration, B. C. 1493, in the last year of Thothmes IV, when regarded in connexion with the Great Deliverance effected in the course of this identical year, by Moses, entitles it to more minute examination. The remarkable coincidence between the pagan ceremony, and the Hebrew emancipation, —the very date of which is inscribed on this monument,—would command attention, were it not calculated to establish the analogy between the sacred and profane chronology, which tends, in so extraordinary a degree, to confirm the latter.

From what has been already stated on the subject of this dedication, it may be collected, that, by the offering then made, it was purposed to engage the support of Osiris; on the anniversary of whose recovery, the ceremony was performed. In this festival, the triumph of the beneficent over the malignant Principle, was celebrated; the latter being personified under the name of Typhon, as the former under that of Osiris^r. The entire race of the Shepherds, under which name the Israelites and the Phenician invaders

^p On the incident, which has been designedly suppressed, some light is thrown by the fact, that after the careful researches of the moderns, no trace has been found of this king's tomb, in the valleys near Thebes, in which the sovereigns of the XVIIIth Dynasty are deposited. This is the more

remarkable, as the tomb of his immediate successor, Amenophis, who carried out the measures in which he engaged, has been discovered. Vid. Wilkins. Thebes. p. 88. conf. supr. p. 260.

^q Vid. supr. p. 343.

^r Vid. Plut. ut supr. cap. xix. p. 468.

were confounded, as inhabiting the country termed Avaris, of which Goshen formed a part, were supposed to be under the especial protection, of the malign divinity, who was its guardian genius and protector^s. In consequence of the salt lakes in its vicinity, it acquired this evil reputation among the Egyptians; who gave it the name of Typhonia^t, from the wicked principle, whose name the Hebrews pronounced Zephon. It was accordingly believed, as Plutarch expressly declares, that under the guidance and protection of this divinity, the expedition conducted by Moses reached its place of destination in safety^u. It is difficult to review, however carelessly, the mythological legend of the contests of this malignant divinity with Osiris and Horus, and avoid being struck with the direct bearing which it has upon the subject before us. On regarding the day chosen for the ceremony, performed in the chapel of the Sphinx, Nov. 18 B. C. 1493, as that in which the triumphs of the benignant divinities over the malignant were celebrated; it is impossible to separate the ceremony, from the warlike movement which must have been meditated, at the time, against Avaris, and its inhabitants. Nothing seems more natural or probable, than that Thothmes should have sought to propitiate, by this act of religion, the divinities who were the antagonists of the guardian genius, by whom he supposed the Shepherds were aided^v.

^s Vid. Champol. l'Egypte sous les Pharaons, tom. ii. p. 90.

^t Id. ibid. comp. p. 87.

^u Plut. ut sup. cap. xxxi. p. 489. Οἱ δὲ λέγοντες ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἐπὶ ὄνου τῷ Τυφῶνι τὴν φυγὴν

ἐπὶ τὰς ἡμέραις γενέσθαι, καὶ σωθέντα γεννῆσαι παῖδας, Ἱεροσόλυμον καὶ Ἰουδαίον. καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

^v As late as the times of Ptolemy Epiphanes, the tradition of the conflict of which this region

Nor will the precise time which was chosen, for so solemn an act of religion, as the dedication of this vast monument, appear extraordinary, when we take into account the expectations, which, there is little reason to doubt, must have been then prevalent in Egypt. That such a deliverance was promised, in this very year, must have been known to the captives, who were long led to expect it. The word of God himself was pledged, that at the expiration of the 430 years, which ended precisely at this time, he would deliver them from their oppressors. Nor could they have been ignorant of the time, as it is only reasonable to suppose, they computed their years, by the era of the Peregrination^w. The divine promise, on which their expectations were founded, is recorded by Moses, the legate who carried it into effect, and its accomplishment declared to be effected, not only in this year, but to the day, as had been predicted. As this prophecy must have been known to Joseph, who accordingly gave directions, that at the crisis of its fulfilment, his remains should be transported to the land of promise; it may be easily

was the scene, was preserved in Egypt. See the Rosetta Tablet, l. 25. and the observations of Drumann, Letronne and Lenormant, in loc. The contest of the natives, with a people whom they branded with the opprobrious name of "the impious;" and whom they succeeded in expelling the land under the guardianship of Horus and Hermes; is there clearly indicated. From the latter, Thothmes derived his name, and it is probable pretended to derive his descent; and both these gods

were the tutelary divinities of this region. Heliodor. *Æthiop.* 9. p. 456. But Horus, in his resistance to Typhon, by whom it was infested, needed the assistance and encouragement of Osiris; which was regarded as peculiarly necessary and effective, at the time of "the Recovery" of the latter; which was chosen for the religious rite, performed by Thothmes: vid. Plut. ut supr. cap. xix. p. 468.

^w Vid. ut supr. Warburt. Lect. p. 31. 349.

conceived, how it might have reached the priests, and have obtained credit with the Egyptians^x. And when once admitted by them, and the expectation of a deliverance had spread abroad; it was natural they should have adapted, to the crisis which was foretold, those cycles, by which such restorations were generally computed^y. For they could not have maintained, in any other manner, the credit of their theories, on which the computations of those periods were founded. Due weight being allowed to these considerations, it can be no longer matter of surprise, that the dedication of the Sphinx, which appears to have been executed in the preceding reign, should

^x Comp. Gen. i. 25. Exod. xiii. 19. From this circumstance, it is not unreasonable to suppose, the notion arose that the Israelites took their departure from Egypt, under the safe-conduct of Joseph and Moses: comp. Chærem. ut supr. p. 224. n. ^b.

^y It appears, from the accounts of the pagans, that the time, for effecting some such revolution, as prophetically indicated, was positively submitted to some such mode of computing, as was used to determine the period of the great cycle. The oracle of Ammon, was, it appears, consulted: and the result consequently determined by Amenophis, who is declared to have been a prophet. "Isis," we are told, "appeared to him, in dreams, rebuking him, that her temple had been overthrown by the revolvers. And Phritiphantes, the hierogrammatist, declared that if he would purify Egypt from the polluted per-

sons, the source of apprehension would be removed." Chærem. ut supr. p. 224. n. ^b. This advice was in concurrence with the oracle, which had directed, "that they should purify the temples from polluted and impious men, expelling them from the temples into the desert places, and should drown the leprous and scorbutic in the sea." Lysim. ut supr. p. 224. Isis is thus assigned a part in the event, with Osiris and Horus, as formerly noticed: which is in strict accordance with the national mythology. As Sirius was regarded as her peculiar star; by its appearance, to which the revolutions of the Great Year and of her festival were accommodated, the great crisis was determined: the former of which preceded, by 2 days, that of the Recovery of Osiris: vid. Diodor. lib. i. p. 27. conf. Gemin. ut supr. p. 230. n. ^b. p. 347.

be deferred to this year, and celebrated on the festival of the Recovery of Osiris.

By one or two considerations, these observations appear to be brought more immediately home to the case of Thothmes. It cannot be doubted that a movement similar to that which he then carried into execution, had been for some time projected; as the immense military force, which pressed on the rear of the Israelites, in their departure, could not have been collected, at a moment's warning. Had there been no other ground for concluding, that those religious considerations, of which I have ventured to suggest the probable cause, were not likely to be inoperative on the mind of Pharaoh; it might be collected not only from his name, Thothmes, which was common to his family, but from his title, Men-nito, which expressed his peculiar opinions, and was most probably engraved on his signet. "The worlds," to which, as I formerly observed, it alluded, and of which he avowed himself to be "the support," or bulwark, were necessarily those, which were produced in those mundane restitutions, which the Great Year effected at the period of its conversion. As this crisis of nature was that precisely which was celebrated in the dedication of the Sphinx; in the name Thothmes, as signifying "born of Thoth," the devotion of the family, which bore it, is avouched to the person who was acknowledged as the promulgator of the doctrine of the Great Restitution, which was then commemorated. And it may not be deemed unreasonable to add, that the picture of an ancient portal has been discovered among the antiquities of Thebes, which has the shield of Thothmes, with this device, painted on "the two side posts and lintel^z."

^z Wilkins, Man. and Cust. vol. ii. p. 102.

The specific directions given to the Israelites at the celebration of the first Passover^a, to smear those parts of the door-case, with the atoning blood, derive illustration from this ancient monument. The vengeance, which it was intended to avert, being more highly provoked by the superstitious use of a symbol, on which the deluded inmate might have relied for security from danger, and which was accordingly stigmatized with this mark of the divine displeasure.

All the preceding circumstances being duly considered, the evidence seems to be sufficiently strong for concluding, that the coincidences which have been pointed out, as meeting in the remarkable year B. C. 1493, are something more than accidental. And if we must admit the alternative, which at the lowest estimate is much less incredible, that the dedication of this stupendous monument, or the rite performed in the adjoining chapel, at the opening of "the great and acceptable year, when liberty was proclaimed" to the Hebrew captive^b, was intentional; the inference is decisive in establishing the accuracy of the date, inscribed upon it, with the view of perpetuating the memory of so solemn a ceremony. And by necessary consequence, in its accuracy, that of the chronological system, by which it is determined, is necessarily established.

3. The evidence, which I have reserved for examination, in the last place, as combining the contrary qualities of minuteness and comprehensiveness, will be received as still more conclusive than the preceding. The coincidence, which it exhibits, extends not merely to the year of the event, of which it determines the time, but to the month, and it may be added the days, in which it occurred. The iden-

^a Exod. xii. 7.

^b See Warburt. Lect. p. 352. sq.

tity between the sacred and profane chronology, which it serves to establish, embraces so many particulars of time and circumstance, that every principle of verisimilitude must be violated, in the attempt to resolve it into accident.

We learn from Josephus, who had access to many sources of information, which are inaccessible to us, that the month Pharmuthi, acquired its name, which signifies “deadly,” as having been that in which the plagues were inflicted on Egypt^c. The manner in which the tradition might have been preserved, is intimated by St. Epiphanius, who informs us that the inhabitants were accustomed to mark their sheep and trees with red, at the time of the vernal equinox; if not as a charm against the mortality, to preserve the remembrance of it, as inflicted on the first-born of man and beast, on the institution of the passover^d. The tradition is further corroborated by the significancy of the name in Coptic, as evidently composed of the article ϥ, the verb ⲁⲡ for ⲓⲡⲓ “to make,” and the noun ⲙⲟⲩⲧ, “death:” thus signifying “making death,” or “deadly^e.”

For the verification of this tradition, in the year of the Exodus, it is necessary to premise that B. C. 1492, the month Pharmuthi, which is the eighth of the Egyptian year, extended from Friday March 28th, to Saturday April 26th. The vernal equinox, in the same year, occurred April 3rd, coinciding with Pharmuthi 7th.

As the passover was kept on the first full moon, which succeeded the equinox^f, it could not have preceded the last day of Pharmuthi, above two

^c Joseph. Antiq. lib. ii. p. 64. g.

^d S. Epiph. Hær. xviii. § 3.

^e Jablonsk. Opusc. p. 376.

^f Exod. xii. 6, 7.

days; the new moon, from which it was computed, as the 14th of the month Abib or Nisan, having occurred Thursd. April 10th. For it is found by computation of the moon's place, that the conjunction took place, Apr. 7th, about sunset, by the meridian of Salehie, where Goshen was situated. The crescent not having been visible before Wedn. Apr. 9th, the beginning of the month, which was always reckoned from the apparent moon^g, was consequently Thursd. Apr. 10th:—as, after the Hebrew manner, the day commenced from the preceding evening. On the last named day of the week, it has been determined, from a computation, founded on the consideration of the 15th of the second month, being the sabbath, that the year commenced at the Exodus^h.

As Abib 1st, in the same year, coincided with Thursd. April 10th, the passover, as kept on the 14th day of the month, must have been celebrated Wednesd. April 23rd. And on the same night, the plague, in which the first-born were cut off, was inflictedⁱ. From the determination of the time of this plague, that of the rest may be clearly ascertained, the order in which they occurred being marked with great precision by Moses. After the infliction of the first, that of the second was deferred a week^j; the two next were each inflicted on one day, and removed on the next^k; the four following, were threatened on one day^l, inflicted on the next^m,

^g Seld. De Ann. Civ. Jud. cap. v. p. 11. Scalig. Em. Temp. lib. iii. p. 223. Can. Isagog. lib. iii. p. 264. Petav. Doctr. Temp. lib. ii. cap. 27.

^h Warburt. Lect. p. 350.

ⁱ Exod. xii. 21—23. 28. 29.

^j Exod. vii. 20. 25.

^k Ib. viii. 6. 17. 10. 20.

^l Ibid. 21. ix. 3. 22. x. 14. 22.

^m Ib. viii. 23. ix. 5. 10. 18. 28.

x. 13.

and removed, on the thirdⁿ. The plague of darkness, which succeeded, lasted, according to the same distribution, three days^o, having been inflicted without any menace; on the last of these days, the first-born were cut off, at midnight, without any previous warning^p.

According to this distribution,—but founded on the occurrence of the last plague, upon April 23rd, the night of the passover,—the annexed Table has been constructed: to the dates of the Julian year, those of the Egyptian and Hebrew being added. The day specified, it should be observed, is that on which the plague was inflicted; in the instance of the fourth and three following plagues, the antecedent day was that on which it was menaced, and the subsequent that on which it was removed. Thus the plague of Flies was menaced, Apr. 8th, inflicted the 9th, and removed the 10th: and so of the others.

Fr.	March.	28	1	18 ...	Water turned into blood.
F.	4	8	Adar.	25 ...	Frogs.
Su.	6	Pharmuthi	10	27 ...	Vermin.
W.	April.	9	13	30 ...	Flies.
Th.	10	14	1	... Beginning of the month.	
Sat.	12	16	Abib.	3 ...	Murrain.
Tu.	15	19	6 ...	Rain and Lightning.	
F.	18	22	9 ...	Locusts.	
Sun.	20	24	11 ...	Darkness.	
W.	23	27	14 ...	Passover: first-born slain.	
Th.	24	28	15 ...	Journey to Succoth.	
F.	25	29	16 ..	——— to Etham.	
Sat.	26	30	17 ...	——— to Migdol, cross the Sea.	

A glance, cast at the commencement and close of

ⁿ Ib. viii. 31. ix. 33. x. 19.

^o Ib. x. 22.

^p Ib. xi. 4. 5.

this Table, will be sufficient to show that the month Pharmuthi, as having its first day coincident with March 28th, and its last with April 26th, is reduced, in it, to its true place in the Julian year, anticipated. It is, at the same time, remarkable, that the whole of the visitations upon the Egyptians, are limited to that month; the earliest falling on its first day, and the latest on its last. While, consequently, the epithet “deadly,” or “death-doing,” as applied to it, is fully confirmed; the tradition, respecting the manner in which it was acquired, is verified to a degree that almost surpasses credibility.

If the present system of Chronology has a foundation in truth, the preceding coincidences possess no characters, which are not the necessary consequences of its consistency. No more was necessary to bring them to light than the exercise of patient inquiry. One circumstance may be, however, particularised, as affording the strongest confirmation to the conclusion which they tend to establish. The year of the Exodus, as determined, in the Egyptian computation, from the fall of Thothmes IV, and the accession of Amenophis, is referred to the true year; and an error consequently corrected, in that of Abp. Ussher, by whom it is advanced one year beyond the proper epoch^a. The influence of this discrepancy, in determining that side on which the truth lies, I have elsewhere noticed; and it tends still further to establish the views which are adopted in the present discussion.

^a Trans. ut supr. p. 333. comp. Des-Vign. Chron. tom. i. p. 579. Warburt. Lect. p. 347.

SECT. V.

Conformity of the Egyptian and Hebrew Chronology, from the foundation of the Kingdom of Israel to the Jewish Captivity.

FROM the times of Moses, a considerable period elapsed, before the Hebrew settlers, whom he planted in Palestine, acquired that rank or importance, which led to an intercourse with foreign nations. After the strength acquired by the conquests of David, and the consequent prosperity which they enjoyed under Solomon, who married a daughter of Pharaoh, their alliance was more worthy of cultivation: a way was thus opened to a better understanding between them and their powerful neighbours. The position which they occupied between Syria and Egypt, gave them importance, as forming a barrier which prevented the rival nations, arranged on either side of them, from coming into immediate and constant collision. To the history of both many references consequently occur in the sacred records, from which we are enabled to test the accuracy of their respective annals.

Before the reign of Shishak, who ascended the throne of Egypt, when the schism of the tribes divided Israel into two kingdoms, the intercourse between the two countries was very limited. Until the advantage, which was taken of their divisions, by that king, who invaded Jerusalem and spoiled the temple; no opportunity occurs for comparing the dates of remarkable events, by which results can be obtained, of importance to this investigation.

But from the invasion of Jerusalem, by this king, until the subversion of the monarchy by the Chaldeans, various notices occur, of the intercourse between the Jews and Egyptians, from which the chronology of the latter receives illustration. After that time, when the city and temple were reduced to a ruin, until the total destruction of the Egyptian monarchy, by the Persians; the fortunes of neither nation were marked by events which rendered them an object of consideration or notice to the historian. Long previously to that event, and but a short time after the fall of Jerusalem, on the overthrow of Amasis by Cambyses, the Persians acquired that ascendancy in the East, before which the national importance of Egypt sunk into insignificance: after the conquests of Alexander, which extinguished the glory of Persia, it merged in that of his successors, the Ptolemies. Although some names of Egyptian princes, besides those which have been mentioned, are occasionally discovered on ancient monuments; they belong to no persons of note or importance. We indeed meet with a few, which are preserved in the lists of Manetho, and have been thence transferred to the chronology of Africanus. Such are Amyrtæus, Achoris and Nectanebo; but they are no farther deserving of notice than as they serve to verify the accuracy of those writers. As they belong to times, which are subsequent to those of which Scripture retains the records, they are beside the purpose of the present investigation, and may be therefore passed over without particular notice.

1. In the subjoined list, the dates are collected, in which the sacred records contain direct evidence of the intercourse subsisting between the Jews and

Egyptians. They are disposed, according to the reigns of the Jewish kings, as fixed in the scripture chronology^a; the correspondent year of the contemporary Egyptian monarchs being determined from the present system, and annexed in a lateral column. Although the examples of a coincidence may be regarded as few in number; they are amply sufficient for our present object, which differs materially from that of establishing a general conclusion, from a full induction of particulars. This purpose will be adequately attained, by demonstrating, that in no ascertainable instance is it found to fail. From the evidence of a coincidence, in a few dates, the conformity of those which intervene may be safely concluded. For, each date so entirely depends on those which precede or follow it,—as derived from the antecedent or subsequent by addition or subtraction,—that an error once committed, would be propagated in either direction, and would be consequently subject to constant detection. And were it even compensated in either of the two lines, which are compared; unless the other were rendered conformable to it, by a systematic falsification, their coincidence, at remote intervals, cannot be supposed within the verge of possibility. To such intervals the comparison, however, extends; as embracing the entire period, for which the Hebrew monarchy existed, in its partition between Judah and Israel. And as our object is limited to the verification of the pagan by the sacred chronology; with no other period of the annals of either nation are we at present concerned.

^a Vid. supr. p. 391. n. b.

EGYPTIAN.	B. C.	HEBREW.
Shishak 2nd year	975	Jeroboam 3rd year.
— 5th —	972	Rehoboam 5th —
Zerah	942	Asa 15th —
So 3rd —	725	Hoshea ... 2nd —
Tirhaka 6th —	710	Hezekiah 17th —
Necho 2nd —	610	Josiah ... 31st —
Hophra 10th —	587	Zedekiah 11th —

Of these coincidences, it may be generally remarked, that the different kings of the Egyptian line, which are disposed at the left hand, are not only recognised in the sacred annals, as contemporaries of the Jewish kings, with whom they are confronted, but have been discovered on such of the hieroglyphic monuments as have been decyphered. A slight variation is, indeed, discernible in the orthography of their titles, as preserved in the ancient monuments, and transmitted by the native chronologists. But it is not greater, and indeed rarely as great as is discoverable in those names which have been perpetuated in any native language and an early translation; and amounts to no difference which leaves the smallest ground of doubt that the same king is meant, however his title may be variously expressed in the original or the translation. It is, besides, not a little remarkable, that notwithstanding the multiplicity of royal names, which have been inserted in the catalogues of the chronologists; comparatively few are preserved in the monumental inscriptions, and scarcely any besides those which are inserted in the preceding scale, as recognised in the sacred annals. Such a result necessarily follows from the consideration, that none but the most distin-

guished monarchs would be likely to find a place in the records of either species: both of which, consequently, bear the impress of truth, not less clearly marked in the character, than the coincidence of their testimony. The force of this observation will be duly appreciated by those who regard the Sacred History with scepticism; or view the outline of the Egyptian Chronology which we have received from the Greeks, with suspicion.

The nature of the coincidences in the preceding scale is such, that it admits of little room for observation, beyond the verification of these general remarks. I shall therefore confine myself to a few references to the sacred annals and the early inscriptions, in which those ancient kings are mentioned, who are proved contemporaneous, on their concurrent authority.

The name of Shishak occupies the first place, which, with a slight variation, the Egyptians appear to have written **Shishonk**^b; but the Greeks have rendered Sesonchis. The Hebrew name occurs in 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 5. 7. 9. where his invasion of Jerusalem, is noticed as having occurred in the fifth year of Rehoboam. The Egyptian name occurs in an inscription on a wall of the court of the great palace of Karnac at Thebes^c. The monarch is there represented of a gigantic form; and suitably to the character ascribed to him in Scripture, is depicted in the act of smiting his enemies, whose hair he grasps in one hand, while the other wields the falchion with which he fells them. Among the shields, which contain the names of his conquests,

^b Rosellin. Mon. Stor. tom. ii. pt. 1. p. 78.

^c Id. *ibid*.

one has excited particular interest, as meant to record his success against Jerusalem. It bears the inscription $\text{Iovz H\alpha\alpha\lambda\kappa \kappa\alpha\beta}$, "land of the king of Judah;" the image of the captive monarch being placed over it, having his arms pinioned^d. According to Champollion, by whom the legend was decyphered, the figure represents Rehoboam; the illustration which it affords to the sacred narrative acquires additional interest from the historical associations of the reign of that monarch.

To the name of Shishak, that of Zerah succeeds, which Champollion considers the corruption of the Egyptian Ocor\kappa\iota ^e, whom the chronologists properly term Osorkon. The connexion of the sacred and profane history, in the reign of this king and that of Asa, is detailed at large in 2 Chron. xiv. 8. seq. His name occurs not only at Karnac, but appears on the great temple of Bubastis^f; and thus far confirms the account of the chronologists, who distinguish the dynasty to which he belonged as Bubastic. The conjecture of Champollion is corroborated by the synchronism of the reigns of the Jewish and Egyptian monarchs; as Rosellini has particularly shown from a review of the royal succession of Jewish kings between Rehoboam and Asa^g. On his computation, which reckons 30 years from the commencement of the last 6 years of Rehoboam to the end of the 15th of Asa, it is merely necessary to observe, in the present place, that it exactly coincides with the dates of this chronology.

The Egyptian name W\beta\kappa Sebek, Sevek, or Sevak, which follows in order, has been prolonged into

^d Champol. Lett. ut supr. p. 99.

^f Rosellin. ut supr. p. 86.

^e Id. Précis. p. 257.

^g Id. ibid. p. 87. n.

Sevechus by the Greeks, and contracted into So by the Rabbins; with the usual caprice of translators, in transferring names of a foreign origin into their own language. The סֵוָא Seva of the original Hebrew, however, comes much nearer to the Coptic orthography, and as Prof. Rosellini has been at some pains to show^h, the deduction of the one name from the other may be reconciled with the principles of the oriental etymology. A short notice of the embassy, sent by Hoshea to this monarch, occurs in 2 Kings xvii. 4. His name is found on the gate of a palace of Luxor, and on some fragments which record his 12th yearⁱ; in which the length assigned his reign, accords with the present chronology. I cannot, however, agree with the learned professor of Pisa, in considering the name of this king equivalent with Ὡῤῥα, which occurs on different monuments, and is supposed by him to accord with its pronunciation by the Ethiopians. The distinction between them appears to be that which the chronologists recognise between Sabtacon and Sevechus; the similarity between which has led to their being confounded with each other; if not transposed in the successions derived from Manetho. In the list of kings, prefixed to this dissertation, I have retained them in the order, assigned to them by Africanus.

The name Τερεκ Tehrek, of the monarch who succeeds, is more correctly preserved in the Tirlhaka of Scripture than in the Tarchus of the Greek chronologists. It is found on the façade of a pylon, or archway, erected before an edifice at Medinet Abu, and on some ruins in Ethiopia^j, over which it ap-

^h Id. *ibid.* p. 120.ⁱ Id. *ibid.* p. 107.^j Id. *ibid.* p. 109.

pears from the short notice of that monarch, who bore the name, in 2 Kings xix. 9. his authority extended. On the approach of Sennacherib's generals against Jerusalem, in the 17th year of Hezekiah, he advanced with an army against the Assyrian invader. The Scripture account, of the miraculous destruction of the Assyrian host, is confirmed by Herodotus, although the circumstances which attended it are somewhat distorted in his narrative; as might be naturally concluded, from the medium of prejudice through which they were beheld by a pagan. He accordingly represents the bowstrings and shield-braces of the soldiers, as having been gnawed by mice^k; who finding their arms thus rendered useless, afforded an easy conquest to the enemy. The clue to this fabulous statement should be probably sought in the denunciation of the prophet, that they should not raise a bank, from whence an arrow should be discharged against the holy city^l; the earth of which those mounds were composed being generally collected in the shields of the soldiers, the failure in whose operations was deduced from the destruction of their defensive armour. The part ascribed to the mice in the destruction, was obviously imputed to the hieroglyphic representation, in which the Egyptians commemorated a victory, that required no greater exertion on their part to achieve, than if opposed to such an invading army^m.

Of the king who succeeds, it is observable, that his name **Ηκω**, Necho, is preserved with little variation, in the sacred and profane annals, and on the

^k Herod. lib. ii. cap. 143.

^l Is. xxxvii. 33. comp. Rosellin. ut supr.

^m Herod. ubi supra.

ancient monuments. I have already had occasion to mention him in connexion with his successors Psamiticus, Apries or Hophra, and Aahmes or Amasis, as noticed on a tablet in the museum at Florenceⁿ. His name is discovered on other monuments, which are cited by Prof. Rosellini, including a tablet in the possession of Caval. Anastasi, and an inscription preserved at Rosetta^o. The event to which I have referred, as occurring in the 2nd year of his reign, coinciding with the 31st and last year of Josiah, is the encounter in the valley of Megiddo, which is recorded in 2 Kings xxiii. 29. as having proved fatal to the Jewish monarch. Beyond the mention of this coincidence, no further remark need be offered in this place, but that it as strictly corresponds with the computations of this chronology, as it is irreconcilable with those of Prof. Rosellini, who has undertaken to recast the chronology of the XXVIth Dynasty, on the evidence of the Florentine inscription. His essay, in correcting the dates, leads to many inconsistencies, which admit of no remedy^p. If we allow his corrections to be just, it must be concluded that the reign of Josiah and Necho terminated in the same year; which is not probable in itself, and which allows no sufficient time, for effecting those changes in the Jewish affairs, of which he was the author, after the fatal encounter in the vale of Megiddo.

The last king of Egypt of whom mention is made in Scripture, is Hophra, whose name approaches more near to the Ḥḫḫḫ of the monuments than to the Apries of the chronologists. It is merely no-

ⁿ Vid. supr. p. 330.

^o Rosellini. ut supr. p. 129. 130.

^p Hincks, Egypt. Stele. p. 3.

ticed in Jer. xlv. 30: but is found inscribed on a rock in the isle Begh near Philæ, and on some stones which are built into the wall of the citadel of Cairo, and on the statue of a priest who flourished under him and his successors, Amasis and Cambyses^q. But from these monuments, as containing no dates, no further light is thrown on the Egyptian chronology, than as they tend to verify the succession of the XXVIth and XXVIIth Dynasties. The coincidence in the reigns of the Jewish and Egyptian monarchs, which I have referred to the year B. C. 587, is dated from the capture of Zedekiah, on the fall of Jerusalem. In that year, the fugitives who escaped from the destruction of the city might have found a refuge in Egypt, whither it would appear, from the prophet's account, they fled for protection^r. The visitation with which he menaces the Egyptian king^s, as inflicted by Nebuchadnezzar, most probably took place about the year B. C. 571, when Apries was succeeded by Amasis. Beyond the year 569, it cannot be deferred with any probability, as in it, the malady of the Babylonian king commenced, which only terminated in the year B. C. 562; when he was succeeded by his son Evilmerodach. At this time, and during the seven years which preceded, the Egyptian throne had been occupied by that king, who is termed Aahmes, in ancient inscriptions.

In the preceding comparative scale, the respective years of the Jewish monarchs' reigns, as reduced to the corresponding dates of the Christian era anticipated, have been adopted from the Chronology of

^q Rosellin. ut supr. p. 140.

^r Jer. xlv. 28.

^s Id. ibid. 30.

Abp. Ussher. Of the coincidences which have been traced between the sacred and pagan annals, it must be admitted that they extend but to the *reigns* of the contrasted monarchs. For we have no criterion for determining how far the *years* of those reigns, which are compared, may be identical, when the computations of the present chronology remain to be proved, and may not be taken as established. Or,—to explain my meaning by one or two examples,—there exists no chronological test, by which it can be directly shown that the 5th year of Shishak was coincident with the 5th of Rehoboam; or the 3rd of Sevechus with the 2nd of Hoshea. And until this was established, it could not be strictly inferred that the date of the pagan chronology derived confirmation from that of the sacred; however justly it might be concluded that the kings, or their reigns, which were opposed to each other, were contemporaneous. But when an error of seven years was liable to creep in, not merely in the period of several centuries, to which the succession extended, but in the space of a single reign; it can be hardly deemed possible that a succession of such coincidences, as have been traced between the pagan and sacred chronology, could have arisen by mere accident, in the period of time for which the Jewish monarchy subsisted. An error, even of so many years, might be of small importance, in any particular reign; but as it would be necessarily propagated through all that succeeded, they would be consequently advanced or retarded, just so many years, from the proper time. Any incident, which occurred under contemporary monarchs, would be thus liable to be thrown out of the reign of one of

them; and the coincidence be consequently destroyed, on which the accuracy of the computation, on either side, was exclusively established.

While such coincidence is allowed to exist, its importance cannot be deemed light by those who conceive it of moment, that the objections which sceptics have raised to the authenticity of the sacred annals should be removed; to the authority of which I have appealed, in proof of the correctness of the present system of Chronology. That the sacred writers, in referring to the history of a foreign nation, with which their intercourse was occasional and limited, should have their accounts confirmed from sources, which were at once so impartial and remote, as the chronological and monumental records of Egypt, must convey the very strongest proof of their unimpeachable credit. By a coincidence in testimony, thus strong and unbiassed, and extending to the entire period for which the Jewish monarchy lasted,—to which the royal annals, from whence it has been deduced, were necessarily limited,—the accuracy of their statements is placed beyond doubt or exception. Of the different vouchers to which I have appealed, let any one be selected, whether historical, chronological or monumental; and it must derive that support from the coincident evidence of the remaining two, which cannot be shaken, until the foundation is destroyed on which any records of antiquity seem entitled to credit.

2. There are, notwithstanding, chronological tests of the most rigid character, which may be applied to the first dates, disposed on each side of the preceding scale, by which their coincidence with the intermediate years of the Christian era may be demon-

strably established. An Egyptian festival was adopted by Jeroboam in his third year, the astronomical characters of which limit it to the year B. C. 975. And an oriental festival was revived by Shishak in his expedition into the East, in the 5th year of Rehoboam, who then submitted to his arms, on entering Jerusalem; and by the nature of the Egyptian and Asiatic year, this festival is limited to the year B. C. 972. The criterion by which these dates are determined, may be applied to the discovery not only of the month, but the day, of the year, when each of those festivals was celebrated; it seems, consequently, to have a demonstrative force in establishing the conclusion, which is aimed at in the present investigation. By the two dates of the scale, thus decided, all the others, with which they are attended, may be determined; from our knowledge of the length of the king's reigns, in the Jewish and Egyptian succession, as fixed in the sacred annals and profane chronology. From the 1st year of Rehoboam and Shishak thus found to coincide with that B. C. 976, that of the kings their successors may be directly obtained; and from thence, by the simplest process, each of the dates, in the preceding scale, be as directly verified.

I have twice had occasion to refer to the festival instituted by Jeroboam, as supplying demonstrative proof of the accuracy with which the succession of Egyptian sovereigns is disposed in the present chronology. In the schism between the tribes of Judah and Israel, which occurred under that king, he instituted a festival which, if not adopted from the Egyptians, was accommodated to their superstitions. With a view to conciliate the ten tribes, and recon-

cile them to his defection, he caused the worship of Apis and Mnevis, to be set up at Dan and Bethel; the Hebrews, in their departure from Egypt, having betrayed a predilection for that idolatry^s. The golden calves, which he thus caused to be erected at the extremities of his kingdom, with a view to withdraw his subjects from joining in the worship at Jerusalem, he accordingly had proclaimed “the gods, which brought them up out of Egypt^t.” The anniversary of the festival was accordingly founded on the feast of Tabernacles; in which that deliverance was commemorated with a religious solemnity^u. But, in consistency with the change in the object of religious worship, from divine to pagan, the time of it was altered, and adapted to the Egyptian, instead of the Jewish mode of computation. According to the institution of Moses, the festival commemorating the departure from Egypt was to be observed on the 15th of the *seventh* month^v; but, by the command of Jeroboam, it was to be deferred to the 15th of the *eighth*^w.

By the learned who have inquired into the ground and object of this innovation, it has been generally allowed^x, that it should be sought in an accommodation to the peculiar superstitions of the nation, from whom the idols had been adopted, which became, from that time, the object of national worship. The simplest, and of course the best solution of the difficulty, which they have tended to involve in greater perplexity, may be found in the difference

^s 1 Kings xii. 28, 29.

^t Ibid. 28.

^u Lev. xxiii. 40—43.

^v Ibid. 39—41.

^w 1 Kings xii. 32, 33.

^x Seld. de Dís Syr. Synt. i. cap. 4. p. 144. Des-Vignol. Chron. tom. i. p. 759. comp. Trans. ut supr. p. 337. 338.

of the Hebrew and Egyptian calendars; to which it is in fact reduced, by the sacred historian, who, in defining the innovation of the idolatrous king, terms it "*the month* which he had devised of his own heart^y." In the year B. C. 975, to which I have referred it, in the preceding Table^z, the difference precisely of a "month" obtained in the reckoning of both nations. From a computation of the time of the paschal-new-moon, in that year, it appears the Jewish ecclesiastical year began on March 25th^a. And from a computation of the neomenia of the Egyptian erratic year, it equally appears that it began on April 25th^b. The difference between the time of the old and of the new festival, was consequently that precisely between the 15th of the seventh month, as computed by the Egyptians and Israelites. The anniversary, as accommodated to the pagan superstitions, was consequently deferred from that month to the eighth, according to the Hebrew reckoning: in which the imputation cast upon the idolatrous king is verified to the letter. Such a coincidence, in consequence of the variations in the lunar revolutions and the retrocession of the erratic year, could not have recurred, unless after an interval of centuries. It may be therefore regarded, as determining, with a demonstrative certainty, the year B. C. 975, to be that in which the Egyptian superstition was set up in Israel, by Jeroboam. From this reproachful event, the epoch of the iniquity of Israel is dated by the prophets.

That in the preceding year, B. C. 976, the enthronisation of Sesach took place may be inferred,

^y 1 Kings *ibid.* 33.

^z Conf. Trans. *ut sup.* p. 336.

^a Trans. *ib.* p. 338.

^b *Ibid.*

with nearly equal certainty, from a festival which I formerly mentioned, as revived and termed from that monarch during his oriental expedition^c. That Babylon was surprised and captured by Cyrus, on the night of its greatest day, as I formerly observed, is generally allowed by the learned. From the terms in which the fall of the city is described by the prophet, it has been concluded, that the festival was termed from Sesach^d. As the anniversary was observed in the fixed Asiatic year, it fell on Lōus 16th; which corresponded with July 9th of the Julian year: and this day is found to have coincided in the year B. C. 976, with Athyr 17th, on which the Egyptians celebrated the great festival of Isis^e.

I formerly had occasion to observe that on the great day of this festival, the dedication of the Sphinx was undertaken by Pharaoh, previously to undertaking the pursuit of the Israelites, when meditating an escape from his kingdom^f. To the god, who was supposed to have a living image in the bull Apis, the idolatrous Israelites equally looked for protection in their expedition; as is expressly avowed in the terms, in which its worship was revived by Jeroboam at Bethel^g. It seems, consequently, not too much to infer, that a coincidence so extraordinary as marks the year of Sesach's enthronisation is not the effect merely of accident. On the contrary, he would be prompted to under-

^c Vid. *supr.* p. 360.

^d *Ibid.* Jer. li. 41. 57.

^e *Trans. ut supr.* p. 338. n. comp. *supr.* p. 228. Warburt. *Lect.* p. 376. The great importance of this festival had induced Selden to single it out, as iden-

tical with that chosen by Jeroboam for the dedication of the calves, at Bethel: *de Dis Syr.* loc. cit. conf. *supr.* p. 460. n. ^x.

^f *Vid. supr.* p. 437. comp. p. 344.

^g 1 Kings xii. 28.

take the expedition, in the hope of profiting by the fame of his predecessor Rameses. The festival which he had instituted, and Shishak revived, agreed mainly with that which Aaron had proclaimed, in erecting the golden calf, and Jeroboam renewed, in establishing its worship in his dominions. Liberty was announced to the slaves, with indulgence and revelry; among whom many would be found ready to receive the invader with open arms, on his offering himself in the character of a deliverer. It is wholly improbable that Shishak and Jeroboam, who had met on familiar terms, at the court of Egypt^h, would have neglected to avail themselves of measures so well calculated to ensure their success, and by which their predecessors had profited. Nor is it to be conceived in reason, that while they were thus negligent, the festival which they respectively instituted should bear so direct a testimony to the contrary supposition. If, on the other hand, the coincidences, which met in this extraordinary year, be regarded as intentional; they involve no difficulty, for which a direct solution will not be found in the consistency of truth. Sustained on considerations, which bear with them the force of demonstration, the date of Shishak's accession may be regarded as rigidly proved; which more than one essayist, in the present wide field of inquiry, has taken as the basis of a chronological system.

From the dates of the two kings' accession, which have been thus determined, that of each monarch, whether Jewish or Egyptian, in the preceding scale, may be verified or determined. Those who may

^h Ibid. 2.

undertake the task, for their own satisfaction, may be referred to any of the ordinary lists of chronologists, in which the succession of the monarchs, and the lengths of their reigns, are specified. These results may be obtained, without any exercise of skill: and they fall not within the province to which my inquiries are limited.

3. The end which I proposed to myself, in this concluding part of a work, that has far exceeded the limits within which I hoped to include it, I may now venture to believe sufficiently attained. The confirmation which the Profane Chronology derives from the Sacred, has been proved by so full an induction of facts and dates, that in undertaking to trace the agreement particularly, I should but fall into useless repetition. In no part of the incidents incorporated in the Sacred Annals can it be said to have failed; and in many it exhibits a closeness and accuracy, which if not admitted among the characteristics of truth, they seem not to be easily discernible. It will suffice to observe, at present, that in no place, where it might be conceived to exist, has it been sought in vain, however remote the period to which our inquiries were directed. From Seth to Noah; from Ham to Abraham; in the administration of Joseph, or the expedition of Moses; from the defection of Israel under Jeroboam to the fall of Jerusalem under Zedekiah; the evidence has been conclusive that facts were not merely preserved, but with an accurate knowledge of their times and circumstances. And whatever incredulity be opposed to certain results, which have been deduced; if the methods of proof by which they have

been established, be rejected as unsatisfactory, with no prospect of success can any essays like the present be prosecuted.

In the preceding investigation, I have undertaken to develop an element in the immense mass of antiquities which may serve to restore the faint line by which the fictitious and the real are frequently separated. A modern school, which arrogates to itself the name of critical, has exhibited wondrous sagacity, in extracting, by the ready tools of Allegory or Etymology, secrets which have long lain hopelessly buried in the ruins of former ages. It has been consequently my aim to direct the attention to some valuable though neglected truths, which have come to light, by the occasional use of such an implement as Chronology. Were the present a suitable place for entering into this subject, this pretence might be sustained by a brief exemplification; an accession of evidence, as well internal as external, having arisen in the course of this inquiry, in support of the sacred records. Many leading incidents, in the narrative which they embody, having been shown to possess a consistency, in time and circumstance, for which it would be absurd to seek a cause, had their origin been that which is presumed by the sceptic. While an ancient nation, distinguished for its wisdom and learning, has been shown to attest their truth, in a testimony which bears alike intrinsic marks of authenticity and credibility.

To the serious consideration of that school, which piques itself on its acumen, the incidents thus attested, are referred with this novel feature in their constitution. If the writings in which they are embodied, and which pass with us for the divine record

of truth, be, as the sceptic asserts, the creation of the human mind; worked out, in the course of intellectual improvement, and by the process of refining, from material to spiritual; it is necessary to the consistency of his theory, that some account should be given of this element in their composition. In admitting, upon such evidence as he adduces, that they consist mainly of allegories, derived from the personification of physical or astronomical appearances; how are we to suppose they acquired their chronological characters? It is not pretended that the mythologist, by whom we are assured they were invented, possessed the skill or had the intention, to ascribe them *a date*, as well as a form and location. We are, notwithstanding, able, from our superior attainments in science, to show, that they want not this mark of reality; as we can investigate, ascertain and demonstrate it, and it comes forth attended with those circumstances by which it is confirmed. As by this single criterion, fact is distinguished from fiction; until it is disposed of, and an adequate solution is given of the chronological coincidences which have been traced: we have as solid ground for receiving the sacred writings as entitled to implicit credit, as we have just cause for rejecting, as baseless and visionary, the systems by which their authority would be weakened or subverted.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX I.

THE ANCIENT CHRONICLE.

Extracted from Syncellus, p. 51.

THERE is current among the Egyptians an Ancient Chronicle, which misled Manetho, containing XXX Dynasties in 113 descents: an unlimited time in 36525 years. The first section was of the Auritæ; the second of the Mestræans, the third of Egyptians, and constituted as follows:

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE GODS.

According to the Ancient Chronicle.

To Hephæstus no time is assigned, as he is apparent by night and by day.

Helios the son of Hephæstus reigned 33000

Then Cronus and the other twelve gods ... 984

Then the eight demigods 217

After these are reckoned 15 generations of the Cynic Cycle, which are computed at 443 years.

XVI	Dynasty	8	Tanites	.....	190
XVII	.....	4	Memphites	.....	103
XVIII	.....	14	Memphites	.....	348
XIX	.....	5	Diospolites	.....	194
XX	.....	8	Diospolites	.....	228
XXI	.....	6	Tanites	.....	121
XXII	.....	3	Tanites	.....	48
XXIII	.....	2	Diospolites	.....	19

XXIV	3 Saïtes	44
XXV	3 Ethiopians	44
XXVI	7 Memphites	177
XXVII	5 Persians	124
XXVIII .....	.....	.....
XXIX	Tanites	39
XXX	1 Tanite	18

Altogether XXX Dynasties, and 36525 years, which number when resolved and divided into its constituents, amounts to 25 times 1461 years :—which shows that it relates to the fabled zodiacal Restitution of the Egyptians and Greeks; that is from a particular sign to the same again, or, from the first minute to the first degree of the equinoctial sign, called Aries; as is declared in the Genesis of Hermes and the Cyrannian Books.

APPENDIX II.

THE THEBAN CANON OF ERATOSTHENES.

Extracted from Syncellus, p. 91. 96. 101. 104.

THE 1st who reigned was Menes, the Thebinite, the Thebæan, which is interpreted *Διόνιος*: who reigned 62 years.

The 2nd of the Theban kings reigned Athothes, the son of Menes; his name is interpreted *Ἑρμογένης*; who reigned 59 years.

The 3rd of the Egyptian Theban kings was Athothes, similarly explained 32 years.

The 4th of the Theban kings was Diabies, the son of Athothes, 19 years. His name is interpreted *Φιλέταιρος*.

The 5th of the Theban kings was Pemphos, the son of Athothes, which means *Ἡρακλείδης*, 18 years.

The 6th of the Theban Egyptian kings was Tægaramachus, Monechiri, the Memphite, which is explained *ἀνδρὸς περισσομελής*, 79 years.

The 7th of the Theban Egyptian kings, Stœchus, his son, which is explained *ἄρις, ἀναίσθητος*, 6 years.

The 8th of the Theban Egyptian kings Gosormies, which is *Ἑτησιπαντός*, 30 years.

The 9th of the Theban Egyptian kings, reigned Mares, his son, which is *Ἡλιόδωρος*, 26 years.

The 10th of the Theban Egyptian kings, Anöyphis, which signifies *νίος ἐπίκουρος*, 20 years.

The 11th of the Theban Egyptian kings, Sirius, which means *νίος κόρης*, but according to others *ἀβάσκαντος*, 18 years.

The 12th of the Theban Egyptian kings reigned Cnubus Gneurus, which is *Χρύσης Χρύσου υἱος*, 22 years.

The 13th of the Theban Egyptian kings, reigned Rauosis, which is *ἀρχικράτωρ*, 13 years.

The 14th of the Theban Egyptian kings reigned Biyris, 10 years.

The 15th of the Theban kings, Saophis, *κωμαστής*, but according to some, *Χρηματιστής*, 29 years.

The 16th of the Theban kings, Saophis II, who reigned 27 years.

The 17th of the Theban kings, Moscheres [Mencheres], *Ἡλιόδοτος*, 31 years.

The 18th of the Theban kings reigned Musthis 33 years.

The 19th of the Theban kings Pammes, *Ἀρχονδῆς*, 35 years.

The 20th of the Theban kings, Apappus Maximus, who they say reigned 100 years wanting an hour.

The 21st of the Theban kings, Echescosocaras, 1 year.

The 22nd of the Thebans, a woman reigned instead of a man, named Nitocris, which is *Ἀθηνᾶ Νικηφόρος*, 6 years.

The 23rd of the Theban kings, Myrtæus [Amuntæos], *Ἀμμωνόδοτος*, 22 years.

The 24th of the Theban kings, Thyosimares, the powerful, which is *ἥλιος* 12 years.

The 25th of the Theban kings, reigned Thinillus, which is *αὐξήσας τὸ πάτριον κράτος*, 8 years.

The 26th of the Theban kings, Semphucrates, which is *Ἡρακλῆς Ἀρποκράτης*, 18 years.

The 27th of the Theban kings, Chuther Taurus, *τύραννος*, 7 years.

The 28th of the Theban kings, Meures, *φιλόσκοπος*, 12 years.

The 29th of the Theban kings, Chomaephtha, *κόσμος φιλήφαιστος*, 11 years.

The 30th of the Theban kings, Sæcuniosochus, *τύραννος*, 60 years.

The 31st of the Theban kings reigned Penteathyres, 16 years.

The 32nd of the Theban kings, Stammenemes reigned 23 years.

The 33rd of the Theban kings, reigned Sestosichermes, Ἡρακλῆς κραταιὸς, 55 years.

The 34th of the Theban kings, Mares reigned 43 years.

The 35th of the Theban kings, Siphos, Ἐρμῆς υἱὸς Ἡφαίστου, 5 years.

The 36th reigned 14 years.

The 37th of the Theban kings, Phruron, or Nilus, reigned 5 years.

The 38th of the Theban kings, reigned Amuthantæus, 63 years.

APPENDIX III.

THE DYNASTIES OF MANETHO.

Extracted from Africanus, &c. and disposed by Geheimerath Böckh.

1 Dynasty of Gods, 11985 years.

Monarchs.	Accession.	B. C.
Hephæstos	9000	30522
Helios .....	.....	21522
Typhon		

2 Dynasty of Semigods.

Horos	18536
Zeus	

3 Dynasty of Semigods.

1st year	16622
Bites	

4 Dynasty of Semigods.

1st year	15366
----------------	-------

5 Memphite Semigods.

1st year	13549
----------------	-------

6 Thinite Semigods.

1st year	11847
----------------	-------

7 Semigod-Mortals.

1st year	11497
----------------	-------

I Dynasty, Thinites, 253 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Menes	62 years	.....	5702
Athothes	57	.....	5640
Cencenes	31	.....	5583
Venephes	23	.....	5552
Usaphedos	20	.....	5529
Miebedos	16	.....	5509
Sememphis	18	.....	5493
Bienaches.....	26	.....	5475

II Dynasty, Thinites, 302 years.

Boëthos	38	.....	5449
Caechos	39	.....	5411
Binothris	47	.....	5372
Tlas	17	.....	5325
Sethenes	41	.....	5308
Chares	17	.....	5267
Nephercheres	25	.....	5250
Sesochris	48	.....	5225
Cheneres	30	.....	5177

III Dynasty, Memphites, 214 years.

Nicherophes.....	28	.....	5147
Tosorthros	29	.....	5119
Tyris.....	7	.....	5090
Mesochris	17	.....	5083
Soyphis.....	16	.....	5066
Tosertasis	19	.....	5050
Aches	42	.....	5031
Sephuris	30	.....	4989
Cerperes	26	.....	4959

IV Dynasty, Memphites, 284 years.

Soris	29	.....	4933
Suphis	63	.....	4904
Suphis	66	.....	4842
Mencheres	63	.....	4776

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Rhatœses	25		4713
Bicheris	22		4688
Sebercheres	7		4666
Thamphthis	9		4659

V Dynasty, Elephantines, 248 years.

Usercheres	28		4650
Sephres.....	13		4622
Nephercheres	20		4609
Sisires	7		4589
Cheres	20		4582
Rathures	44		4562
Mercheres	9		4518
Thercheres	44		4509
Obnus	33 + 30		4465

VI Dynasty, Memphites, 203 years.

Othoës	30		4402
Phios.....	53		4372
Methusuphis	7		4319
Phiops.....	100		4312
Menthesuphis	1		4212
Nitocris	12		4211

VII Dynasty, Memphites, 70 days.

1st year	4199
----------------	------

VIII Dynasty, Memphites, 142 years.

1st year	4198
----------------	------

IX Dynasty, Heracleopolites, 409 years.

1st year	4056
----------------	------

X Dynasty, Heracleopolites, 185 years.

1st year	3647
----------------	------

XI Dynasty, Heracleopolites, 43 years.

1st year	3462	
Last year.....	3421	
Amnenemes	16	3420

XII Dynasty, Diospolites, 160 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Sesonchosis	46 .....	..	3404
Ammanemes	38		3358
Sesostris	48		3320
Lachares	8		3272
Ammeres	8		3264
Ammenemes.....	8		3256
Scemeophris	4		3248

XIII Dynasty, Diospolites, 453 years.

1st year	3244
----------------	------

XIV Dynasty, Xoites 184 years.

1st year	2791
----------------	------

XV Dynasty, Shepherds, 284 years.

Saïtes	19	2607
Bnon.....	44	2588
Pachnan	61	2544
Staan	50	2483
Archles	49	2433
Aphobis	61	2384

XVI Dynasty, Shepherds, 518 years.

1st year	2323
----------------	------

XVII Dynasty, Shepherds and Diospolites, 151 years.

1st year	1806
----------------	------

XVIII Dynasty, Diospolites, 263 + 66 years.

Amos, numbered in the preceding Dynasty.

Chebros	13	1655
Amenophthis	21	1642
Amensis	22	1621
Misaphris	13	1599
Misphragmuthosis ...	26	1586

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Tuthmosis.....	9		1560
Amenophis	31		1551
Horos	37 (38)		1520
Acherres	32		1482
Rhathos.....	6 (9)		1450
Chebres.....	12		1441
Acherres	12		1429
Armeses	5		1417
Ramesses	1		1412
Rhampses (Rhapsakes)	66		1411
Amenophath.....	19		1345

XIX Dynasty, Diospolites, 209—66 years.

Sethos	51	1326
Amenephthes	20	1275
Ramesses	60	1255
Ammenemes	5	1195
Thuoris.....	7	1190

XX Dynasty, Diospolites, 135 years.

1st year	1183
----------------	------

XXI Dynasty, Tanites, 114 years.

Smendes	26	1048
Psusennes	46	1022
Nephelcheres	4	976
Amenophthis	9	972
Osochor	6	963
Psinaches	9	957
Psusennes	14	948

XXII Dynasty, Bubastites, 120 years.

Sesonchis	934	
Osorthon		
3 kings		
Tacelothis	13	869
3 kings	42	856

XXIII Dynasty, Tanites, 89 years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Petubates	40		814
Osorcho	8		774
Psammus	10		766
Zet	31		756

XXIV Dynasty, Saïte, 6 years.

Bocchoris	6		725
-----------------	---------	--	-----

XXV Dynasty, Ethiopians, 40 years.

Sabacon	8		719
Sebichos	14		711
Tarchos	18		697

XXVI Dynasty, Saïtes, 150½ years.

Stephinates.....	7		679
Nechepsos	6		672
Nechao I	8		666
Psametichos	54		658
Nechao II	6		604
Psammuthis	6		598
Uaphris	19		592
Amosis	44		573
Psammecherites.....	½		529

XXVII Dynasty, Persians, 125 years.

Cambyses	6		529
Darius Hystaspis	36		523
Xerxes	21		488
Artabanos, (7 months)			
Artaxerxes I	41		466
Xerxes (2 months)			
Sogdianos, (7 months)			
Darius II	19		424

XXVIII Dynasty, Saïte, 6 years.

Amyrtæos.....	6		405
---------------	---------	--	-----

XXIX Dynasty, Mendesians, $20\frac{1}{3}$ years.

Monarchs.	Reign.	Accession.	B. C.
Nepherites	6		399
Achoris	13		393
Psammuthis	1		380
Nephorites	$\frac{1}{3}$		379

XXX Dynasty, Sebennytes, 38 years.

Nectanebes.....	18		378
Teos	2		360
Nectanebes.....	18		341

XXXI Dynasty, Persians, 9(8) years.

Ochus	2		340
Arses	2		338
Darius Codomannus ...	4		336
<hr/>			
Alexander			332

THE END.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

I.

THE ANALOGY OF REVELATION AND SCIENCE established in a SERIES OF LECTURES delivered before the University of Oxford, in the year 1833, on the foundation of the late Rev. J. Bampton. 8vo. 1833.

II.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL PROPHECIES,—as constituting a Connected System in which the principal events of the divine dispensations are determined by the precise Revelation of their dates; demonstrated in a SERIES OF LECTURES delivered in the Chapel of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, in the years 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836. On the foundation of the late Bishop Warburton. 8vo. 1837.

III.

THE EXPECTATIONS FORMED BY THE ASSYRIANS, that a Great Deliverer would appear, about the time of our Lord's Advent, demonstrated. 8vo. 1826.

IV.

THE TIME OF THE MILLENNIUM investigated, and its nature determined on scriptural grounds. 8vo. 1831.

These last cited works form two parts of the Author's *Boyle's Lectures*; since the delivery of which, materials have accumulated, under his researches, for a work of considerable extent: in which, if completed, he would hope to effect—"A DEMONSTRATION OF REVELATION, FROM THE SIGN OF THE SABBATH."

V.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE HOLY GHOST, illustrated and confirmed by Scriptural Authorities, in a Series of Sermons evincing the Wisdom and Consistency of the Economy of Grace; with Notes and Illustrations, exhibiting the evidences of the Truth and Authority of the Doctrine, from the Primitive Church, and the Church of England. 8vo. 1813.

VI.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE INTEGRITY OF THE GREEK VULGATE, or Received Text of the New Testament: in which the Greek Manuscripts are newly classed, the integrity of the Received Text vindicated, and the various Readings traced to their origin. 8vo. 1815.

VII.

SUPPLEMENT TO AN INQUIRY into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate; containing a vindication of the principles employed in its defence. 8vo. 1830.

VIII.

A HARMONICAL GRAMMAR OF THE PRINCIPAL ANCIENT AND MODERN LANGUAGES; viz. The Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Samaritan, the French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and Modern Greek. 2 vols. 8vo. 1822.

In this Work, the different Languages are analysed, on an uniform plan, and upon new and simple principles; short and comprehensive rules are given—for attaining a just pronunciation—for determining the genders—for inflecting the noun and verb, including the whole of their irregularities; also a Syntax and Prosody fully exemplified, and a classed Vocabulary of the most useful and necessary words.

Each Grammar may be had separately.

IX.

A KEY TO Mr. VOLNEY'S RUINS, on the Revolution of Empires. 8vo. 1819.

In this Work the revolutionary and sceptical opinions of the French Author are exposed and refuted.

X.

VINDICATION OF A REVIEW OF THE BAMPTON LECTURES for 1815, inserted in the *British Critic*, in a Letter addressed to the Rev. Reginald Heber, A. M. 8vo. 1817.

XI.

THE EVANGELICAL CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY, according to the Doctrine and Ordinances of the Established Church, asserted and vindicated in a series of Letters. 18mo. 1838.

XII.

THE CATHOLIC CHARACTER OF CHRISTIANITY, as recognised by the Reformed Church, in opposition to the corrupt traditions of the Church of Rome; asserted and vindicated in a series of Letters addressed to a Student at Oxford. 18mo. 1839.





HEgy
N7875e

2082

Author Nolan, Frederick

Title The Egyptian Chronology

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
LIBRARY

Do not
remove
the card
from this
Pocket.

Acme Library Card Pocket
Under Pat. "Ref. Index File."
Made by LIBRARY BUREAU

